COLL

Elizabeth N. Dale

1918.

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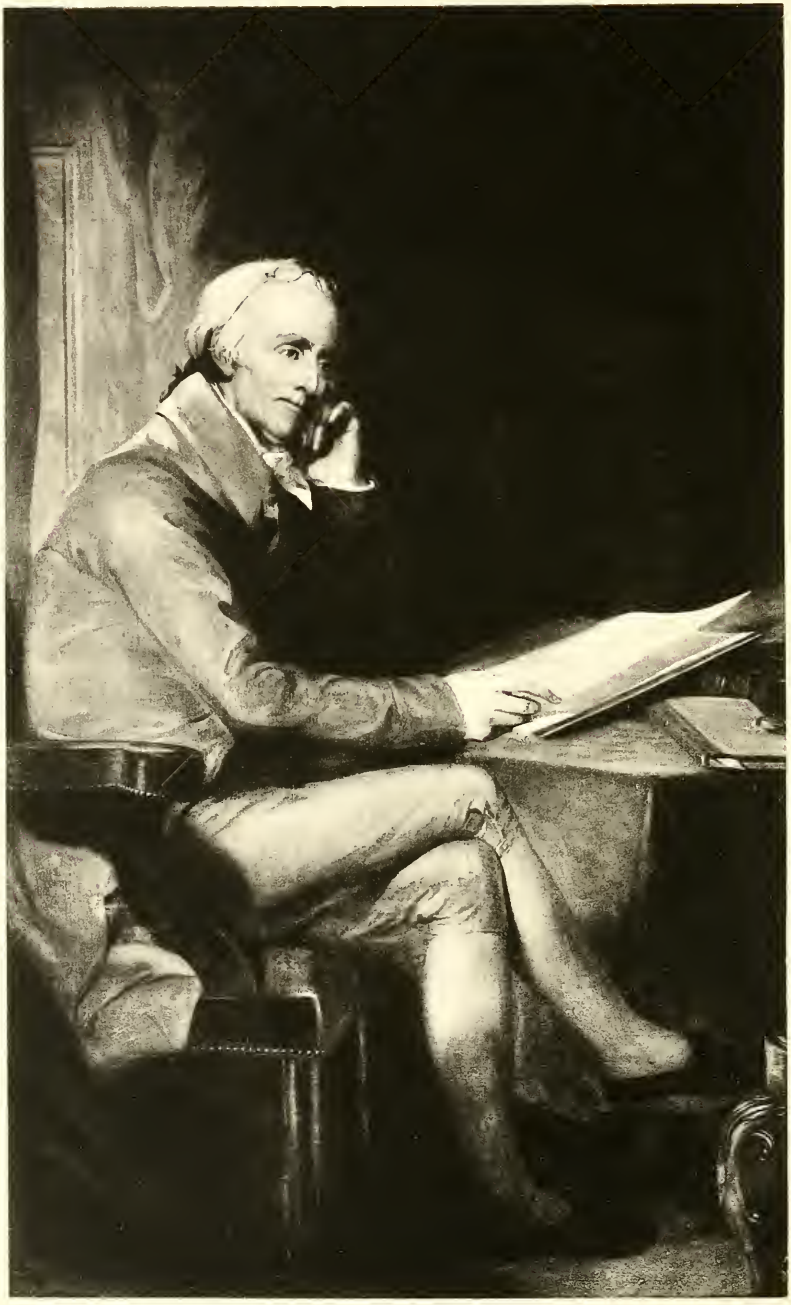

From a painting by Thomas Sully

Benjamin Rush

A MEMORIAL

containing

Travels Through Life or Sundry Incidents
in the Life of

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH

Born Dec. 24, 1745 (Old Style) Died April 19, 1813

Written by Himself

also

Extracts from His Commonplace Book

as well as

A Short History of the Rush Family in Pennsylvania

Published privately for the benefit of his Descendants

By

LOUIS ALEXANDER BIDDLE

Lanoraie

1905

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LOUIS ALEXANDER BIDDLE
Philadelphia

Made at the Sign of the Ivy Leaf in Sansom Street Philadelphia

INTRODUCTORY

*

Washington 8th April 1814

Dear Enclosed is the extract which I mentioned to you, as a document which ought to be placed in the archives of your venerable father's & our highly & respected friend the late Doctor Rush. The extract is from a letter of Mr Adams late President of the United States, of the 26th of April last, & expresses an opinion in unison with my own. Accept my best wishes, yours sincerely & respectfully

Richard Rush Esq
Attorney General of the United States.

E Gerry

Extract

"A few facts I wish to put upon paper, as an awful warning to us of down fall has been given me by the sudden death of our friend Rush. Lexington Kentucky

* "Old Family Letters."—Biddle.

had preceeded him on the same year, the same
spring. How few remain. Three in Massachusetts
I believe are a majority of the surviving signers
of the Declaration, which has had much credit in
the World.

As a man of Science, Letters, Taste,
Sense, Philosophy, Patriotism, Piety & Morality,
Merit, usefulness, taken all together, Rush has not
left his equal in America, nor that I know in
the World. On him is taken away, & in a manner
most sudden & unexpected, a main prop of my
Life. Why should I grieve when grieving
Profits not dear.

From the New York "Mirror."

Gentlemen.—In looking over a collection of letters from my friends and correspondents, the following, from the late Dr. Benjamin Rush, arrested my attention as a communication of peculiar interest, and one which ought not to be confined to the family circle, for whose gratification it was communicated.

In the first instance it was addressed to John Adams, the late President of the United States. In September, 1812, the doctor enclosed me a copy of the same, intended to be seen only by my family and friends. Believing it will be perused with delight and profit by the reader of taste, correct feelings, and religious sentiments, I send it for insertion in the Mirror.

H. *

*Probably Dr. Hosack of New York.

Letter from Dr. Rush to John Adams.

Philadelphia, July 13th, 1812.

"**My Dear Friend.**—Can you bear to read a letter that has nothing in it about politics or war? I will, without waiting for an answer to this question, trespass upon your patience, by writing to you upon another subject.

"I was called on Saturday last to visit a patient about nine miles from Philadelphia. Being a holiday I took my youngest son with me, instead of my black servant. After visiting my patient, I recollected I was within three or four miles of the farm on which I was born, and where my ancestors for several generations had lived and died. The day being cool and pleasant, I directed my son to continue our course to it. In approaching, I was agitated in a manner I did not expect. The access was altered, but everything around was nearly the same as in the days of my boyhood, at which time I left it. I introduced myself to the family that lived there, by telling them at once who I was, and my motives for intruding upon them. They received me kindly, and discovered a disposition to satisfy my curiosity and gratify my feelings. I asked permission to conduct my son up stairs, to see the room in which I drew my first breath, and made my first *unwelcome* noise in the world, and where first began the affection and cares of my beloved and excellent mother. This request was readily complied with, and my little boy seemed to enjoy the spot. I next asked for a large cedar tree that stood before the door, which had been planted by my father's hand. Our kind host told me it had been cut down seventeen years ago; and then pointed to a piazza in front of the house, the pillars of which, he said, were made of it. I next inquired for an orchard planted by my father. He con-

ducted me to an eminence behind the house, and shewed me a number of large apple trees, at a little distance, that still bore fruit, to each of which I felt something like the affection of a brother. The building, which is of stone, bears marks of age and decay. On one of the stones near the front door, I discovered with some difficulty the letters J. R. Before the house, flows a small, but deep creek, abounding in pan-fish. The farm consists of ninety acres, all in a highly cultivated state. I knew the owner to be in such easy circumstances, that I did not ask him his price for it; but begged, if he should ever incline to sell it, to make me or one of my surviving sons the first offer, which he promised to do.

"While I sat in his common room, I looked at its walls, and thought how often they had been made vocal by my ancestors, to conversations about wolves and bears, and snakes, in the first settlement of the farm; afterwards about cows and calves and colts and lambs; and the comparative exploits of reapers and thrashers; and at all times with prayers and praises, and chapters read audibly from the bible; for all who inhabited it of my family were pious people, and chiefly of the sect of quakers and baptists. On my way home I stopped to view a family grave-yard, in which were buried three and part of four successive generations, all of whom were the descendants of Captain John Rush, who, with six sons and three daughters, followed William Penn to Pennsylvania, in the year 1683. He commanded a troop of horse under Oliver Cromwell; and family tradition says he was personally known to him, and much esteemed by him as an active and an enterprising officer. When I first settled in Philadelphia, I was sometimes visited by one of his grandsons, a man of eighty-five years of age, who had lived with him when a boy, and who often detailed anecdotes from him of the battles in which he had fought under Cromwell, and once mentioned an encomium on his character by Cromwell, when he supposed him to be killed. The late General Darke of Virginia and General James Irvine, are a part of his numerous posterity; as

the successor to the eldest sons of the family, I have been permitted to possess his sword, his watch, and the leaf of his family bible that contains the record of his marriage, and of the birth and names of his children, by his own hand. In walking over the grave-yard, I met with a head-stone, with the following inscription:

"In memory of James Rush, who departed this life March 16th, 1727, aged forty-eight years.

"I've tried the strength of death, at length,
And here lie under ground,
But I shall rise, above the skies,
When the last trump shall sound."

This James Rush was my grandfather. My son, the physician, was named after him. I have often heard him spoken of as a strong-minded man, and uncommonly ingenious in his business, which was that of gunsmith. The farm still bears marks of his boring machine. My father inherited both his trade and his farm. While standing near his grave, and recollecting how much of my kindred dust surrounded it, my thoughts became confused, and it was some time before I could arrange them. Had any or all of my ancestors appeared before me, in their homespun or working dresses, (for they were all farmers or mechanics), they would probably have looked at one another, and said, 'What means that gentleman by thus intruding upon us?'

"Dear and venerable friends! be not offended at me. I inherit your blood, and I bear the name of most of you. I come here to claim affinity with you, and to do homage to your Christian and moral virtues. It is true, my dress indicates that I move in a different sphere from that in which you have passed through life; but I have acquired and received nothing from the world which I prize so highly as the religious principles which I inherited from you, and I possess nothing that I value so much as the innocence and purity of your characters.

"Upon my return to my family in the evening, I gave them a history of the events of the day, to which they

listened with great pleasure; and partook, at the same time, of some cherries, from the limb of a large tree, (supposed to have been planted by my father), which my little son brought home with him.

"Mr. Pope says there are seldom more than two or three persons in the world who are sincerely afflicted at our death beyond the limits of our own family. It is, I believe, equally true, and there are seldom more than two or three persons in the world who are interested in anything a man says of himself beyond the circle of his own table or fireside. I have flattered myself that you are one of those two or three persons to whom the simple narrative and reflections contained in this letter will not be unacceptable from, my dear and excellent friend, yours affectionately,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

"To John Adams, Esq."

A Review

The letter written by Dr. Rush to John Adams, of July 1812, only a year before his death, descriptive of his visit to his *Homestead*, (above sketched) does more to illustrate the character of the writer, and to make the reader acquainted with his *heart* than a volume of *biography* without it. I feel as I read the unadorned and simple narrative of this great man's visit to his home and the graves of his ancestors, a stirring at the heart and a freer and more joyful circulation of the spirit. There is a piety in it—an ardor of feeling and an attachment for the long buried dead—a clinging to the trees that had been planted by the hands long mouldered into dust,—and an enthusiasm, though stilled by the holiness of the object, which testify the genuineness of the heart's feelings, and give character and immortality to him who cherished them. I would rather have a heart capable of feeling what Rush felt when he made that visit to the home of his fathers, than to be borne through crowds amidst shouts and acclamations, as the hero of a battle in no matter what cause.

What is like it? The world shut out, and man mingling amidst the silence of rural scenery, with his own reflections and with the honoured dead;—and the dead his own progenitors. What an absence of the tempests which sweep over this world's affairs! How calm! What a rest to the heart! How still is nature! The fancy only is busy. It realizes the employments, business, joys, sorrows, hopes and fears of those upon whose remains the sods rest, —and converses with the spirits of the departed. The spell broken—all around is reality. The trees that used to flourish once, like the hands that planted them, are gone. Even the "cedar" is gone! but that has been made into

pillars to prop the roof of the colonnade. They once lived! Though dead they are sound and tangible. Tell me nothing of political strife—of war and the glory of it—of routs and fashions—all fade away, or retire before the tranquil pleasures of such an hour as this. No wonder Rush is immortal. A man that gives proof of such a heart as his *can never die.*

Dedicated to Jonathan Parry

VIATOR

July 4th, 1832.

PART I

An Account of Sundry Incidents in the Life of Benjamin Rush, Written by Himself

PART I

"There is no death for such a man—
He is the spirit of an unclosed book."

I WAS born on the 24th of December 1745 (old style) on my father's plantation in Byberry township, Philadelphia county, about 14 miles to the northeast of the city of Philadelphia. The family from which my father sprung belonged to Oxfordshire in England, and came over to Pennsylvania with the first settlers under William Penn in the year 1683. They were Quakers. My father John Rush was a respectable and ingenious man and was brought up to the business of a gunsmith. This he pursued for a few years in the city of Philadelphia with a character for strict integrity in all his dealings. He had inherited some little property in Philadelphia from his mother to which by his industry and success in business, he made additions though not enough for the independent support of the family he left at his death. This consisted of four sons, including myself, and two daughters. My mother also survived him. She too was of English descent. She was a good woman, and possessed of a strong mind; she had been educated at a boarding-school in Philadelphia and was well acquainted with the common branches of female education at that day. As a mother she was distinguished by kindness, generosity, and attention to the morals and religious principles of her children.

My only surviving brother Jacob Rush (now President of the judicial district composed of the city and county of Philadelphia, and lately one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania) and myself were sent to a country

school in Nottingham now in Cecil county in the State of Maryland, a few years after our father died. This school was taught by the Revd Dr. Saml Finley, afterwards President of the College of New Jersey, and who had married one of the sisters of my mother. It was then the most respectable and flourishing of any in the middle provinces of America. The character of Dr. Finley as a minister of the gospel and scholar is well known to thousands in this country, but he is less known as a teacher of an academy and a master of a family. Few men have ever possessed or displayed greater talents in both those capacities. His government over his boys was strict, but never severe nor arbitrary. It was always by known laws which were plain and often promulgated. The object of a law whether it related to great or little matters was never taken into consideration in the trial of an offender. I remember he once issued an order forbidding boys to throw stones at his fruit trees in order to obtain fruit from them. Soon afterwards he observed a boy flinging stones up an apple tree. He came up to him, and struck him with his hand on the side of his head. The boy remonstrated against his punishment and said the tree had no fruit on it, and that he was only amusing himself by trying to hit a decayed apple of the last year's growth which hung upon one of the highest branches of the tree. "This is no excuse for your offence (said the Doctor) by throwing at that decayed apple you injure the tree; you have moreover broken a law, which though apparently trifling, will lead you to break laws of more importance." In the infliction of punishments in his school he always premised them by a discourse upon the nature, heinousness, or tendency of the offence. Sometimes he made all the scholars in the school give their opinions upon the nature of an offence, before he gave his own, and now and then he obliged them to pronounce sentence of punishment before he inflicted it. The instrument with which he corrected was a small switch which he broke from a tree. The part he struck was the palm of the hand,

and that never more than three times. The solemn forms connected with this punishment were more terrible and distressing than the punishment itself. I once saw him spend half an hour in exposing the folly and wickedness of an offence with his rod in his hand. The culprit stood all this while trembling and weeping before him. After he had ended his admonitions, he lifted his rod as high as he could, and then permitted it to fall gently upon his hand. The boy was surprised at this conduct. "There go about your business (said the Doctor) I mean *shame* and not *pain* to be your punishment in the present instance."

He took uncommon pains to promote good manners among his scholars. The slightest act of incivility was reproved. This he did at his table, in so elegant and delicate a manner as not to expose the person who was rebuked. He selected a number of artificial characters with which he connected all the usual follies and improprieties of boys. To these he gave the name of Thos. Broadbrim, Ned Short, Bill Slovenly, and the like. These characters he contrasted by the history of Johnny Courtley, who was an example of all that was proper, and amiable in the conduct of a young man. His manner of describing these characters was so agreeable as to fix even the most volatile and desultory of his boys to their chairs. Sometimes his descriptions were interspersed with anecdotes that excited a burst of laughter. If in his walks and in his study he occasionally overheard an improper expression, or saw an improper act in any of his boys, he never failed to take notice of it, at the ensuing meal, but in such a manner as not to excite a suspicion that a personal application of what was said was intended. One evening I recollect he dwelt chiefly upon the character of Ned Short. Among other things, he informed us, that he was of a quick temper, and very prone to give rude answers to the most innocent questions. "For instance (said he) if one of his companions asked him if he knew where his book was, he would answer, 'ask about.'" Here he paused—a

blush appeared in the countenance of one of his boys, who had on that day given that answer to a question of a similar nature. The Doctor did not appear to be conscious that the rebuke had produced its intended effect. But his table was not made subservient only to this mode of instruction. He made it a constant practice to admit his boys to eat with all the strangers who visited him. The benefits derived from the news, anecdotes, and general conversations which young people are thus permitted to hear, are much greater than is generally supposed. "Conversation (said a wise man) is education," and one of the first geniuses in Britain has declared, that he learned more from the conversation of one man whom he named, than from all the books he ever read in his life. I could repeat an hundred things I heard at the table of my master, to which I then was constrained to lend an impatient and reluctant ear, but which have since become the seeds of useful knowledge. I owe my present ideas of the misery connected with great wealth to a dream which the Rev. Mr. Richard Treat related at his table when I was about twelve years old.

He inculcated at all times a regard to the common forms of good breeding. For this purpose, he frequently exercised his pupils in delivering and receiving letters, and in asking and receiving favors. He extended his attention to forms, to the composition, folding and direction of letters. These had their rules, and were applied by him to different ranks, and subjects according as they were upon business or mere letters of friendship.

His method of teaching the Latin and Greek languages was simple. He taught several of the arts and sciences usually taught in colleges. In these he was unfortunately tied down to the principles and forms that were common in the schools of that day. He had studied the English language, and taught the reading, writing and speaking of it with great ease and success.

In the government and instruction of his family, he exhibited an example of apostolical prudence, piety and

zeal. He read and explained the whole or part of a chapter of the Old or New Testament every morning and evening before prayers in his family: many of the remarks he made upon passages in the Bible, which then passed hastily through my mind, have occurred to me many years afterwards, and I hope not without some effect. He obliged all the boys who lodged in his house to commit the shorter catechism of the Church of Scotland to memory, and to repeat it every Sunday evening. Upon each of the answers he made pertinent and instructing or pious remarks. He likewise obliged all the members of his family to repeat what they remembered of the sermon they had heard at church. I cannot commend this practice too highly. It created habits of attention and recollection. I was much struck in observing how much we improved in the knowledge we brought home of the sermon, by exercise. Two of his scholars, I recollect, frequently gave, between them, every idea mentioned in a sermon.

The instructions of Sunday evening were usually closed by delivering in a plain way some of the most striking and intelligible evidences of the truth of the Christian religion. Many of his arguments, upon these occasions, though clothed in simple language, were the same which are to be met with in the most logical writers upon that subject, and to the impression they made upon my understanding, I ascribe my not having at any time of my life ever entertained a doubt of the divine original of the Bible. I wish this mode of fortifying the reason of young people in the principles of Christianity were more general. The impressions which are made upon their fears, or their faith by sermons and creeds soon wear away, but arguments fixed in the understanding are indelible. They operate upon the judgment, and this process of the mind we know to yield as necessarily to the impression of truth, as vision in a sound eye succeeds impression from the rays of light.

One more branch of education remains to be mentioned which was taught in the Doctor's family, and that

is practical agriculture. All his scholars shared in the labors of harvest and hay-making. I bear on one of my fingers to this day the mark of a severe cut I received in learning to reap. These exercises were both pleasant and useful. They conduced to health, and helped to implant more deeply in our minds the native passion for rural life. Perhaps it may be ascribed in part to their influence, that not a single instance of death, and not more than two or three of sickness occurred in the Doctor's family during the time I lived in it which was five years. The family seldom consisted of less than thirty persons.

The comfort and reputation of a boarding school depends so much upon the conduct of the wife of its master, that the account I have given would be defective without mentioning that my aunt (with a small deduction on account of the irritability of her temper occasioned or heightened by bad health) was eminently qualified for her station. She was industrious, intelligent, frugal, and in every other respect a good housewife. She possessed information upon many subjects and some wit, which rendered her agreeable in conversation. She kept a plentiful table of country food dressed in a pleasant manner. The record of this fact will not appear trifling to those who know that the *appetite* is the ruling principle in young people, and that no advantages in point of education will ever be duly appreciated where it is not pleased, nor any acts of injustice, committed by boarding schools, remembered with less forgiveness, than scanty or ill dressed meals. I quit the history of this delightful haunt of my youth with reluctance. There is not a fruit tree, nor a rivulet of water on it that was not dear to me. Some years after I left it, I rode several miles out of my way to visit it. I rambled with a melancholy pleasure, slowly over the fields and meadows and orchard, in which I had shared with my master and schoolmates in rural labors and festivity. I sat down in the dining room of the old mansion house, and stood silent and motionless for a considerable time in the school house

which was then used as a weaver's shop. Most of the members of that once happy family are now no more. Seven out of eight of Dr. Finley's children sleep with their father and mother in the grave. Many of my schoolmates filled important stations, and discharged the duties of useful professions with honor to themselves and benefit to their country. I avoid naming them lest I should do injustice by omitting any.

One thing only damps the review of the time I spent at this school, and that is, that I profited so much less than I might have done from all the opportunities I enjoyed of literary and moral instruction. An education at a country school has many advantages, but it has one disadvantage, which operates with peculiar force upon city boys, and that is the facility with which the amusements of hunting, gunning and the like are to be obtained is so great as to overpower the relish for study. From much reflection upon this subject I am satisfied that it would be wise in country schoolmasters to forbid those amusements altogether. Rural employments might easily be substituted in their room. These establish early ideas of a connection between industry and property and they lay a foundation for those agricultural pursuits or pleasures which are often the result of necessity or of independence and leisure.

The mind of a boy could as soon cease to exist as cease to be active. Shut out from play, it retreats of choice to study. One of the most accomplished scholars I ever knew was an idle boy until he was fourteen years of age. He always ascribed his fondness for books to his being confined for bad behaviour two or three days in his grandfather's library. To obviate the ennui of idleness, he took down a book which he found entertaining. He read it through, by which means he suddenly acquired a taste for reading and knowledge that continued during the remainder of his life.

In taking leave of the school and family of my venerable preceptor, I have only to add, that he died in the city

of Philadelphia in the month of July in the year 1766 in the 51st year of his age. I sat up with him every other night for several weeks, and finally performed the distressing office of closing his eyes. The annals of Christian biography do not furnish an instance of more patience in sickness, nor of a greater triumph in death. His conversation for several days before he died was elevated, pious and eloquent in the highest degree. It was carefully recorded by one of his attendants, and afterwards published by Mr. Aitkins, in the "United States Magazine." The character and manners of this excellent man commanded respect and affection from his numerous pupils. I never met with one of them, who did not admire, esteem and love him. Some of them have expressed their respect for his memory in terms bordering upon idolatry. His picture forms a part of the furniture of my house.*

In the spring of 1759 and in the fifteenth year of my age, I was removed from Dr. Finley's school to the College of New Jersey where, after an examination by two of the tutors, I was admitted into the junior class. The *pro tempore* President of the College at that time, was the Rev. Jacob Green. He was succeeded in the month of August by the Rev. Samuel Davies, who had been elected some time before President of the College. This gentleman surmounted the disadvantages of scanty circumstances and a confined education by the strength and activity of a great and original genius. He was in most respects "Faber sua fortuna" that is, in the language of the world, a "self-made man." His reputation for classical literature, philosophy and oratory, were such as recommended him to the trustees of the College many years before, to undertake a

* My classmates at this school were the Rev. Charles Cummins and Joseph Alexander of South Carolina, Dr. Williams of Virginia, Dr. John Archer of Maryland, and Dr. Thomas Ruston and Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia, all of whom are *now* living—July, 1800. A similar instance of seven persons connected in any way, living 44 years after being separated, and in a country that had been exposed to war and pestilence, has not probably often occurred in any part of the world.

mission to Great Britain to solicit contributions to build and endow the College. This mission was executed with success. His intercourse when abroad with the most eminent scholars and divines enlarged his mind and he became better qualified for the station he was now called to fill. He seemed to have been made for it. To a handsome person, he united the most elegant and commanding manners. He was truly dignified, but at the same time affable and even familiar in his intercourse with his pupils. He introduced subjects of instruction into the College and gave to the old branches of education a new and popular complexion. It was my happy lot to attract a good deal of his attention. He thought I discovered some talents for poetry, composition and public speaking, to each of which he was very partial. The facility with which I committed his lessons to memory made so agreeable an impression upon him, that he gave me credit for much more capacity than I possessed. Those who knew me at that time remember me only as an idle, playful, and I am sorry to add—sometimes a mischievous boy. While I lament that my improvements here, as at Dr. Finley's school, were by no means equal to my opportunities, I hope I shall be excused in acknowledging that this mode of teaching inspired me with a love of knowledge, and that if I derived but little from his instructions, I was taught by him how to acquire it in the subsequent periods of my life. I learned from him to record in a book which he called "Liber Selectorum" such passages in the classicks as struck me most forcibly in reading them. By recording those passages I was led afterwards to record facts and opinions. To this I owe perhaps in part the frequent use I have made of pen and ink. I have constantly associated them with every book I have read—sometimes by making extracts from them, but more frequently by making references to them in a common place book, or by making marks, or indexes in them. This method of reading I know is condemned by some people, and memorandum books have been called by them the destruction of

memories, but I have not observed this to be the case in myself nor in some others who have adopted it in a greater extent than I have done. "Studium sine calamo somnium," was the saying of one of the ancient poets. Recording facts has the usual effect of repetition. Instead of producing an oblivion of them, it imprints them more deeply in the memory.

In the month of September 1760, I was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Before I left College, Mr. Davies asked me what profession I intended myself for. I told him I had been advised to study the law. He approved of the advice, and added that he "believed I should make a better figure at the bar than in the walks of a hospital." This opinion fixed my determination, and my mother in consequence of it applied to a lawyer in Philadelphia to take me into his office. Previously to my sitting down to study, I was prevailed upon to accompany one of my old schoolmates on a visit to his family in Somerset county in Maryland. On my way there and back again I stopped a few days at Dr. Finley's Institute. Before I took leave of him on my return home, he called me to the end of the piazza and asked me whether I had chosen a profession. I told him I had, and that I expected to begin the study of the law as soon as I returned to Philadelphia. He said the practice of the bar was full of temptations, and advised me by no means to think of it, but to study physic. "But before you determine on any thing (said he) set apart a day for fasting and prayer and ask of God to direct you in the choice of a profession." I am sorry to say I neglected the latter part of this excellent advice, but yielded to the former, and accordingly obtained from Mr. Davies, whom I saw soon afterwards in Philadelphia, a letter of recommendation to Dr. John Redman to become his pupil. On what slight circumstances do our destinies in life seem to depend! all my friends objected to my choice. One of my classmates wrote me a long letter full of remonstrances against it, and reminded me of the credit I had acquired at

the College as a public speaker. There were periods in my life in which I regretted the choice I had made of the profession of medicine, and once, after I was thirty years of age, I made preparations for beginning the study of law. But Providence overruled my intentions by an event to be mentioned hereafter. I now rejoice that I followed Dr. Finley's advice, I have seen the hand of heaven clearly in it. This fact is recorded to shew that our feelings sometimes mislead us, as well as our reason, and that we often regret having done or omitted things which time discovers to have been most for our interest, or for the benefit of our fellow-creatures. I might have acquired more fortune and rank in life in the profession of the law, and probably have escaped much of the vexation and distress that are connected with the practice of medicine, but I am sure I have been more useful in the latter profession, and therefore acquiesce in my lot, and were I to choose an employment over again, a conviction of suffering all the persecution that has followed me for my opinions and practice would not alter my predilection for medicine. In the month of February 1761, I began the study of medicine, and continued constantly in my master's family and shop 'till July 1766. During this period I was absent from his business but eleven days, and never spent more than three evenings out of his house. My master at this time was in the most extensive business of any physician in the city, and as he had at no time more than two apprentices, he kept them constantly employed. In addition to preparing and compounding medicines, visiting the sick and performing many little offices of a nurse to them, I took the exclusive charge of his books and accounts. It may not be amiss to mention here that before I began the study of medicine, I had an uncommon aversion to such sights as are connected with its practice. But a little time and habit soon wore away all that degree of sensibility which is painful, and enabled me to see and even assist with composure in performing the most severe operations in surgery. The con-

finement and restraint which were now imposed upon me gave me no alternative, but business and study, both of which became in a short time agreeable to me. I read in the intervals of business and at late and early hours all the books in medicine that were put into my hands by my master, or that I could borrow from other students of medicine in the city. I studied Dr. Boerhaaves' lectures upon Physiology and Pathology with the closest attention, and abridged a considerable part of Van Swieten's commentaries upon his practical aphorisms. I kept a common place book in which I recorded everything that I thought curious or valuable in my reading and in my master's practice. To him I am indebted for the estimation in which I have always held the works of Dr. Sydenham. He put them into my hands soon after I went into his shop, and frequently alluded to his opinions and practice, particularly in the treatment of Epidemics. However laborious and self-denied my situation was during my apprenticeship, I owe much to it. It produced in me habits of industry and business which have never left me. It rendered diseases in all their forms and symptoms familiar to me, and gave me a facility in knowing them which is to be acquired in no other way. During my residence in Dr. Redman's shop, he was one of the physicians of the Pennsylvania Hospital by which means I was admitted to see the practice of five other physicians besides his own in the hospital. It was during this time likewise that the medical school of Philadelphia was founded by Dr. Shippen and Dr. Morgan. I attended the lectures of the former on Anatomy in 1762 and 1765 and of the latter on Materia Medica in the last of those years.

In the month of August 1766, I sailed for Liverpool on board the ship Friendship of which Capt. Pierce was master, with a view of proceeding from thence to Edinburgh in order to prosecute my studies in medicine. My fellow passengers were Jonathan Potts, whose pursuits and place of destination were the same as mine, and a certain James

Cummins, a young Scotch merchant whose fortune and health had been impaired in the West Indies, and who was on his way to his parents in the North of Scotland. Our passage was stormy and dangerous. We were nearly lost on the coast of Ireland, and the next day narrowly escaped being wrecked at Hollyhead on the coast of Wales. I was a stranger to our danger in both instances 'till it was over, when the Captain informed us of it by ascribing our safety, to use his own words, "to that Being whose tender mercies are over all His works." These expressions were not the only ones which were uttered by our Captain during our voyage that indicated his reverence for his Maker and a belief in his providence. Every part of his conduct was moral, and his commands and conversation always free from swearing and profanity. He had been educated he once informed me by a pious mother.

On my voyage I suffered much from sea sickness. The only permanent relief I obtained was from laudanum.

Two nights before we arrived in Liverpool, Mr. Cummins awoke the Captain, Mr. Potts and myself with a cry of great distress. The Captain asked him what was the matter. To this he answered for a while only in groans, and finally said he had been terrified by a dream, but refused to tell what it was. In the morning after I had retired from the breakfast table to the deck, he told the Captain and Mr. Potts that he did not choose to tell his dream in the night lest I should hear it, but that he imagined we had arrived in Liverpool, that two days afterwards I had fallen from a horse, and was killed by a fracture of my skull,—that I appeared to him after my death and bid him prepare to follow me, for that he was to die in a few days. In October 1766 we arrived safely in Liverpool, and were kindly entertained by several families to whom we had letters of introduction. Two days after our arrival we visited a large glass house. In coming out of it Mr. Cummins complained of being indisposed and left us. In the evening when we returned to our lodgings we

found him abed and asleep. We all lay in one room, but in different beds. At twelve o'clock he awoke us with a noise like a person in convulsions. We called for candles and flew to his relief. By opening a vein we checked his fits, and apparently restored him to reason, but in spite of all our efforts to recover him not only by ourselves, but by one of the oldest physicians in the town whom we called to our assistance, he died the next evening. This was to us both a most afflicting event, for he became very dear to us, by our fellowship in dangers. We shewed our respect for him by burying him at our own expense in a graveyard belonging to an Episcopal church in the town. This expense was afterwards honourably reimbursed by his father.

The day after his interment I went into a shop nearly opposite to our lodgings to pay for some of the articles of the last dress of our friend. The lady who attended entered into conversation with me upon the melancholy subject of my errand to her shop. She inquired where I was going. I told her to Edinburgh, she told me she had a nephew of the name of John Bostock a student of medicine there, to whom she politely offered to give me a letter, and at the same time invited me to take tea with her in the afternoon. I accepted the invitation and was introduced by her to the mother of her nephew who was then in mourning I believe for her husband. Their conversation was elegant and instructing. The death of Mr. Cummins gave it a serious cast. Mr. Bostock's aunt repeated an ode after tea, which contained a most striking and highly poetical picture of the state of the body and mind in the last hours of life. I have in vain sought for this ode in collections of poetry. It was superior to Pomfret's much admired poem upon the same subject. This short account of the manner in which I became acquainted with Mr. Bostock will be connected with an event which will form a considerable part of the history of my principles and conduct in a future period of my life.

I left Liverpool in October with my friend Mr. Potts and passed through Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland. On our way to Edinburgh, at the tavern at Penrith in Cumberland where we lodged, our host spoke in high terms of his parish Minister who he said often visited travellers who passed through the town. We expressed a desire to see him. Soon afterwards a venerable old gentleman was introduced to us. He sat down and conversed for about an hour, during which time he discovered more knowledge in the questions he asked of our own country than either of us possessed. He had never been out of England nor far from home, and yet he appeared to be minutely acquainted with everything that related to the countries of which he spoke. He made an apology for leaving us at an early hour by saying it was Saturday night, and that he was obliged to prepare for the exercises of the ensuing day. His name was Bunkle.

We arrived in Edinburgh about the first of November and fixing ourselves in lodgings, obtained tickets of admission to the different lectures. The medical professors at that time were Drs. Monroe, Cullen, Black, Gregory and Hope. I attended this season the lectures on Anatomy, Chesmistry, the institutes of medicine and natural philosophy and the practice of the infirmary.

Finding myself less acquainted with classical and philosophical learning than was necessary to comprehend all that was taught in medicine, I employed the summer months in reviving my knowledge of the Latin language and studying the mathematics under a private tutor, in each of which I advanced with a rapidity and pleasure I never had known before. It is because those branches of learning are taught too early in life, that they are so little relished or so imperfectly understood by young men. During this summer and part of the autumn I likewise made myself master of the French language, and acquired so much knowledge of the Italian and Spanish languages as to be able to read them. I was taught the French by a

man of uncommon genius of the name of Coumans, who strictly forbade me to commit a grammar rule to memory. He obliged me from the beginning to read and translate passages from a French book and to write a French version every day. This I could not do without the help of a grammar. By referring to its rules, at the time I required their application, they adhered to my memory without the least act of my will to imprint them there, so that at the end of one month I could repeat them with great facility. I well recollect the triumph my master enjoyed over me in perceiving the success of his mode of teaching the principles of his language; for I had objected to it on the day I became his pupil.

I taught myself the Italian and Spanish languages so as to be able to read them both to this day (July 2d, 1800) with tolerable facility.

The second winter I spent in Edinburgh was employed in attending in addition to the before mentioned lectures those of Dr. Gregory on the practice of physic and of Dr. Hope on the Materia Medica. In June 1768, I was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, after having undergone the usual examination, and publicly defended a thesis on "the digestion of the food in the stomach."

The two years I spent in Edinburgh I consider as the most important in their influence on my character and conduct of any period of my life.

The public lectures and private conversations of the Professors not only gave me many new ideas, but opened my mind to enable me to profit by reading and observation.

The easy and friendly intercourse which I kept up with my fellow students was a constant source of excitement to my mind. Every meeting in the University and in the Infirmary and every visit and walk with them was productive of more or less knowledge upon some object of taste or science. The students of medicine at that time were collected from several parts of the continent of

Europe, as well as from every part of the British Empire. Dr. Frabicuis, Dr. Schunheytor, Dr. Tode of Copenhagen and Drs. Le Roche and Odier of Geneva (all celebrated names in the republic of medicine) were my cotemporaries in the University, so was Dr. John Brown, the ingenious author of the Brunonian system of physic. The last of these gentlemen maintained himself and a young family while a student by teaching the Latin language and translating English theses into Latin for those graduates who were unable to do it for themselves. He was at that time distinguished for his wit, and by some eccentricities of conduct. The native Americans who composed a part of my profitable acquaintances were the three Dr. Browns, Dr. Willing, Dr. Jones, Dr. Steptoe and Dr. Blair all of Virginia. Drs. Faysseaux, Tucker, Baron and Chandler of South Carolina, Dr. Reeder and Dr. Digges of Maryland and Dr. Robert of New York were likewise my friends and fellow students in the University. Their names are still dear to me. Our friendships were warm and disinterested, for there was no competition of interest to divide us. The original bond of union was our native country, a principle which always acts with most force when the subjects of our patriotism are limited and when we are at a distance from home.

I mentioned a little while ago the name of Mr. Bostock. I delivered the letter his aunt gave me in Liverpool to him, and soon afterwards breakfasted with him. He was well informed upon all subjects, particularly upon history, biography and Belles lettres. In the course of our acquaintance, he informed me that his father commanded a company under Oliver Cromwell. I told him that my first American ancestor held the same rank in Cromwell's army. This was a discovery of relationship between persons who had previously behaved as strangers to each other. He now opened his mind fully to me, and declared himself to be an advocate for the republican principles for which our ancestors had fought. He spoke in raptures of the character of

Sidney and said he once got out of his carriage in passing by Sidney's country house and spent several hours in walking in the wood in which he was accustomed to meditate when he composed his famous treatise upon government. Never before had I heard the authority of kings called in question. I had been taught to consider them as essential to political order, as the sun is to the order of our solar system. For the first moment in my life I now exercised my reason upon the subject of government. More reflection led me to renounce the prejudices of my education upon it; and from that time to the present all my reading, observations and reflections have tended more and more to shew the absurdity of hereditary power and to prove that no form of government can be rational, but that which is derived from the suffrages of the people who are the subjects of it.

This great and active truth became a ferment in my mind. I now suspected error in everything I had been taught or believed, and as far as I was able began to try the foundations of my opinions upon many other subjects. The sequel of my scepticism and investigations will appear hereafter. It has been said there is no such thing as a solitary error in the human mind. The same thing may be said of truths. They are all related and delight in society. I shall only add in this place, that the change produced in my political principles by my friend Bostock, had no effect upon my conversation or conduct. I considered the ancient order of things with respect to government as fixed and perpetual, and I enjoyed in theory only the new and elevating system of government I had adopted.

In addition to the medical society I have mentioned, I had the pleasure of being domesticated in several very amiable private families in Edinburgh. Some of them were persons of rank, but they were all more or less distinguished for learning, taste or piety. The Rev. Dr. Erskine honoured me with many acts of attention and friendship. His heart resembled the ancient altar among the Jews. The fire of Christian love burned upon it with a perpetual

blaze. It was my peculiar happiness likewise to be known to the celebrated preacher Mr. Walker. The character of this excellent man was once summed up in the following lines:

> On Walker's lips persuasion dwells,
> His pious life, his eloquence excels.

I attended his church constantly during my residence in Edinburgh. His printed sermons have commanded general admiration, but the best of them are inferior to many that I have heard delivered by him. Nor let me forget to mention here the families of Mr. William and Mr. Thomas Hogg, bankers of Edinburgh, from whom I received many civilities and whose memories have been ever since dear to me. The daughters of the former, and the wife of the latter, were women of charming manners and great mental accomplishments. In the house of Mr. John Caw, an officer in the excise, I always met with a hearty welcome. He was a man of uncommon worth, and never failed pleasing in company by well applied anecdotes and stories of which he possessed a fund that I have not known exceeded by any man. I boarded in the house of two maiden ladies of the name of Galloway to whose goodness I feel myself bound to record a tribute of respect. They had a brother, a merchant in Edinburgh, who was worthy of them. In piety they seem to resemble the happy family that was honoured with the friendship of the Saviour of the world. Mr. Galloway was a man of good education and of great general knowledge. He was to me a living dictionary. I do not recollect that I ever asked him a question upon any literary or philosophical subject that he did not answer to my satisfaction. In several of the families that I have named I met occasionally an old Highlander of plain manners of the name of Dougal Buchanan, who was employed to superintend the printing of a translation of the Bible into the Erse language. This man possessed an original mind. He had read and thought upon many subjects. I soon found that an acquaintance with him would be profitable, and

therefore invited him to visit me. He frequently amused me with curious facts in natural history. One day after attending Dr. Munroe's lecture upon the hand, he told me that he had been kept awake the whole succeeding night in admiring the manner in which the opening and shutting the hand are performed by means of the perforans and perforatus tendons. He saw the goodness and wisdom of the Creator in everything. He spoke good English, but he once told me that he always prayed and dreamed in his native language. In one of his fingers he had a disease similar to that which takes place in a decayed tooth, when its nerve is bare. Such was its morbid sensibility that the least touch of it gave him pain, and to avoid this he generally carried the hand to which this finger belonged in his coat pocket. He had a very singular respect for the memory of his father, who died when he was a boy. So dear was he to him that he never went to bed for seven years after his death without thinking of him. He had read several of the English poets and particularly Young, Milton and Shakespear. His feelings were in unison with everything that was sublime in the productions of nature or art. He one day called to do some business with a gentleman in Edinburgh. He found him reading those lines under a bust of Shakespear in his parlour, in which he describes the destruction of our globe by fire. "There (said the gentleman) did you ever read anything so sublime as those lines before." "Yes (said the pious philosopher) I did; I have a book at home in which there is a much more sublime passage! the words are 'And I saw a great white throne, *and Him* that sat on it, from whose face the heavens and the earth fled away, and there was found no place for them.'" The gentleman acknowledged the truth of the remark and said he had never seen the sublimity of that passage in the Bible before.

In my intercourse with company in Edinburgh, I once met David Hume. It was at the table of Sir Alexander Dick. He was civil in his manner and had no affectation of singularity about him. Sir Alexander once referred to

him for a fact in the history of England. Mr. Hume could not satisfy him. "Why (said Sir Alexander) you mention it in your history." "That may be (said Mr. Hume) there are many things there which I have forgotten as well as yourself."

I met the celebrated historian Dr. Robertson at the table of Dr. Gregory, he was polite and entertaining in conversation. Before we sat down to dinner Dr. Gregory said grace. Upon recollecting that Dr. Robertson, a clergyman, was present, he asked his pardon for having been his own chaplain. The Doctor told him, a Lord of Session had once acted in the same capacity at his table in the presence of his father who was likewise a clergyman. After he had finished his grace he looked around and saw Mr. Robertson, "Why, I believe the Devil is in me, only think of my saying grace in the presence of a clergyman." "No, my Lord,—said my father,—it is a sign the devil is not in you, or you would not have said grace."

I was frequently made happy by the company of the blind poet Dr. Blacklock. He was a man of pleasant manners, and well acquainted with all the common subjects of literary conversation.

It was while I was in Edinburgh that the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon of Paisley in Scotland was elected President of the College in New Jersey. Mr. Richard Stockton, one of the Trustees of the College, who was at that time in London, was appointed to present to the Doctor the minute of his election. This was done in Edinburgh where Dr. Witherspoon met Mr. Stockton. In consequence of the Doctor's wife's unwillingness to leave her native country he declined the invitation. The summer afterwards I visited the Doctor at Paisley and spent several agreeable days in his family. In the course of our conversation I lamented often in the presence of his wife his not accepting of the charge of the Jersey College, and obviated such of the objections as had been formerly made to crossing the ocean. An account of her change of mind was immediately trans-

mitted to the Trustees of the College who re-elected him. The Doctor with his family soon after embarked for America. The College flourished under him for many years. He gave a new turn to education and spread taste and correctness throughout the United States. It was easy to distinguish his pupils everywhere whenever they wrote or spoke for the public. He was a man of great and luminous mind. He seemed to arrive at truth, *intuitively*. He made use of his reasoning powers only to communicate it to others. His works will probably preserve his name to the end of time.

I remained in Edinburgh, after the time of my graduating, during the summer for the sake of attending a private course of lectures upon the Practice of Physic. I made a short excursion during this time to the countryseat of the Earl of Leven to whose family I had been introduced by Mr. Thomas Hogg. Here I beheld noble manners united with a public profession of religion. Order, virtue, innocence and friendship reigned throughout every department of the family. The neighborhood was composed of his Lordship's tenants, several of whom I visited. They seemed happy. One of them I recollect sat down one evening by invitation in his working dress and supped with his Lordship's family. His Lordship had eight children, all of whom appeared to be amiable and promising.

I received from Lord Balgonie, the eldest son of the Earl of Leven, after I parted with him a gold ring which contained in a small circle about the size of a dime every word and letter of the Lord's Prayer. On the inside of the ring were engraved the day of the month and year on which I left the family-seat at Melville.

During my residence in Edinburgh I was often struck in observing the moral order which prevailed among all classes of people. Silence pervaded the streets of that great city after ten o'clock at night. The churches were filled on Sundays. I never saw a pack of cards in either a public or private house. Dancing supplied the place of silence or

insipid conversation in all large companies. Swearing was rarely heard in genteel life and drunkenness as rarely seen among the common people. Instances of fraud were scarcely known among servants. But integrity descended still lower among the humble ranks of life. I once saw the following advertisement pasted up at the door of the playhouse,"The gentleman who gave the orangewoman a guinea instead of a penny last night is requested to call at the check office for it." This universal morality was not accidental. It was the effect of the parochial instructions of the clergy who were at that time a regular and conscientious body of men. I have heard with pain that a great change for the worse has taken place in the morals and manners of the inhabitants of that once truly happy city. Nor was I surprised at it, when I heard that the works of several of the most popular writers against Christianity were to be met with in the hands of journeyman mechanics of all descriptions.

I left Edinburgh in September 1768, and travelled rapidly with two companions to London by land. The country through which we rode was highly cultivated and beautiful. I arrived in London the latter end of September and took lodgings at a Mr. Speakman's in the Strand. Finding this situation too remote from the hospitals and lectures I purposed to attend, I removed in a few days to the house of a widow Jeffries in the Haymarket where I remained all the while I was in London.

I attended the lectures and dissections of Dr. Wm. Hunter and Mr. Hewson in London. It was while I was dissecting a body by his side, Mr. Hewson succeeded in an experiment which proved the existence of lymphatic vessels in fishes. I attended for a while the Middlesex hospital, but followed Dr. Huck to St. Thomas's after his removal to that hospital. Dr. Hunter's lectures were entertaining as well as instructing. In St. Thomas's hospital I saw an immense variety of diseases and practice. Dr. Akenside, the poet, was one of the attending physicians.

He was distant and formal in his behavior to the students. Dr. Huck was the reverse of this, he was communicative and friendly. I owe much to him for many civilities. He introduced me to Sir John Pringle by whom I was invited to attend a medical conversation party held once a week at his house. I attended a similar meeting of physicians at Dr. Huck's own house on another evening of the week, and often dined with him in large and highly polished companies. He lived in or very near the same house in which Oliver Cromwell had once lived. The Doctor had acquired knowledge, reputation and powerful connections by having served many years in the British army in America and the West Indies, during the war which ended in 1763. He had been well educated and had visited all the celebrated Universities and hospitals in Europe. With all these advantages to beget confidence, he was so modest that he seldom spoke, even at his own table, without blushing. He was polite, correct, and just in his intercourse with the world. In his politics he was a high-toned Royalist, and never discovered any irritability of temper, except when he spoke against the claims of America, or the conduct of the opposition to the British court. He once justified bribery in the British Ministers to obtain a majority in the House of Commons, by saying "it was necessary to *bribe* the rascals in order to make them honest." He repeatedly said the happiest people he had seen in his travels were those who enjoyed the least liberty! He was a bachelor at the time I knew him. Soon afterwards he married the daughter of Admiral Saunders, by whom he got a large estate, in consequence of which he added Saunders to his name.

Sir John Pringle was between sixty and seventy years of age. He was then the favorite physician of the Queen and Royal family. No relaxation appeared, Dr. Franklin (who was his intimate friend) informed me, in his exertions to obtain knowledge. He read and wrote as much as when he was a young man. I well recollect the number and nature of the questions he asked me the first time I

was introduced to him. I met Dr. Garthshore, Dr. Knight, Dr. Fordyce, and several other respectable members of the medical profession at his house, from each of whom I always learned something that was capable of being applied to practical and useful purposes.

By means of letters from Philadelphia I was introduced to Dr. John Fothergill. He gave me a general invitation to breakfast with him, whenever it suited me. I thankfully availed myself of this kind offer, and visited him once a week at eight o'clock in the morning. At nine he always went out. The time between those hours was always spent agreeably and profitably in his company. His sister, who was a woman of good sense and great worth, added to the pleasure and instruction of his table. His subjects of conversation were always philanthropic, and his manner in discussing them was animated but methodical. He often spoke with horror of war and lamented the prevailing custom of the English and French considering each other as "natural enemies." With the strictest conformity to the phraseology and manners of the people called Quakers, he was a perfectly well-bred gentleman.

Dr. Franklin acted, while I was in London, as agent to several of the then American Colonies. It was my peculiar happiness to be domesticated in his family. He introduced me to a number of his literary friends. He once took me to Court with him, and pointed out to me many of the most distinguished public characters of the nation. I never visited him without learning something. I shall mention a proof of his kindness to me in another place.

I had been introduced to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, when a boy, in America. I saw him occasionally in Edinburgh and visited him frequently at his house adjoining his Church in Tottenham court road; he took me to one of the windows of the room where we sat, and pointing to several small houses, said "there are my life guards. In those houses I maintain twelve poor widows and their prayers help to keep me alive." In one of my evening visits to him,

he left me for a few minutes to read the burial service over one of his parishioners. The grave in which he was interred was near his dwelling house. I stepped to the window which overlooked the company that attended the funeral. It was after night. No object appeared to my sight but Mr. Whitefield clad in the white surplice of his Church. After reading the service in a manner peculiarly affecting, he delivered a short address to the company that surrounded the grave, in which I well recollect the following words: "Be not discouraged by the frowns and persecutions of the world. Your heavenly Father is not unmindful of your sufferings. When St. Stephen was stoned all heaven was in an uproar! The Son of God himself is moved at the sight. He cannot sit still. He rises from his throne, and *stands* ready to receive the holy protomartyr into his arms."

In breakfasting with him, I was much struck with the inscription in the bottom of his cups and saucers. They consisted of verses extracted from the Bible, all of which were expressive of the resemblance of water or food to the blessings of the Gospel. In my cup was the following verse: "With joy will we draw water out of the wells of Salvation"; and in my saucer the following, "Ho, every one that thirsteth come, and &c.—

After breakfast he conducted me through a private walk into the pulpit of his church through which we descended into the church. At the foot of the pulpit he pointed to a tombstone, under which his wife had been buried the summer before. "There (said he) on that cold marble, I spend from four to five o'clock every morning upon my knees." He afterwards shewed me a monument which he erected in honor of his wife, on the wall of the church. It contained her name, age and character. Were I to record all the original, pious, and eloquent sayings of this great man during my visits to him, a volume would not contain them. I have always thought it a peculiar happiness to have known him. He and Mr. Wesley constituted the two

largest and brightest orbs that appeared in the hemisphere of the church in the 18th century. Probably they were exceeded only by the Apostles in zeal and usefulness. I was not acquainted with Mr. Wesley, but I twice heard him preach in Edinburgh. He was more learned, but much less eloquent than Mr. Whitefield. The latter exhibited everything in his voice, countenance and action in preaching, that can be conceived necessary to constitute perfect oratory.

In the Episcopal Church, I occasionally heard the Rev. Mr. Romaine, Mr. Madan and the afterwards unfortunate Dr. Dodd. They were all good preachers. Among the dissenters I heard Dr. Gibbons, Dr. Conder, Mr. Brewton, and Dr. Fordyce. The last of these gentlemen was distinguished for the extravagance and *art* of his oratory, but his sermons were always serious and instructing. Dr. Gibbons was my acquaintance. He had been the friend and correspondent of my preceptor at the Jersey College, Mr. Davies. He shewed me a large bundle of his letters. He shewed me likewise many letters he had received from Dr. Doddridge and a Greek testament that had belonged to Dr. Watts in which were many notes written with the Doctor's own hand.

I spent many agreeable evenings with Mr. West, a native of Pennsylvania, and history-painter to the King of Great Britain. He was friendly to all his countrymen. I picked up many anecdotes from his conversation of the King, and Royal family, also of many of the nobility of England. Nothing delighted him more than to talk of the pleasant scenes of his native country. He often spoke of the simple manners of the inhabitants of Chester County, Pennsylvania, in which he was born, and of the romantic walks and prospects on the river Schuylkill. He had spent several years in Italy in acquiring a knowledge of his profession, and often entertained me with remarks upon the manners of the Italians and contrasted them with the manners of his own and other countries. I must relate one of

the remarks. In crossing the channel at Dover, he saw upon the English shore, just before he reached it, two little boys fighting. His heart was strangely moved with *pleasure* at the sight. He had seen nothing like it since he had left America. It was the signal of a revival of integrity, and the open and honest operation of the passions. In Italy he had never seen anger break out in the face or in the fists. This passion always descended into the heart in that country, and vented itself only in poison or assassination. However painful the sight alluded to might have been at any other time, it is not to be complained of that it was upon this occasion seen with a sudden emotion of pleasure.

Mr. West introduced me to several of the most celebrated members of the Royal Academy of artists in London, and in particular to Sir Joshua Reynolds, by whom I was afterwards invited to dine with Dr. Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith and several other distinguished literary characters. Soon after the company met, it was remarked to one of them (Goldsmith) that the reviewers had been very severe upon a work he had lately published. "What then,—said Dr. Johnson to the gentleman,—where is the advantage of having a great deal of money, but that the loss of a little will not hurt you, in like manner where is the advantage of having a great deal of reputation but that the loss of a little will not hurt you, you can bear the censures of the reviewers." At dinner the Doctor spoke a good deal and always in a manner to command attention and respect. Upon being asked what his opinion was of Mr. Boswell, he said, "he was much given to asking questions, and that they were not always of the most interesting nature. For instance, he will sometimes ask,—'Pray, Dr., why is an apple round, and why is not a pear so.'" He treated Dr. Goldsmith, who was a man of gentle and unoffending manners, with great rudeness in the course of the day. After dinner Mr. Eaton Wilkes, brother of John Wilkes, came into Sir Joshua's. Dr. Johnson and he soon engaged in a dispute upon the propriety of the military being ordered

lately to fire upon a mob in St. George's Fields, by which a man of the name of Allen was killed. Mr. Wilkes condemned the measure and said Col.—(whose name I do not recollect) had said he could have dispersed the mob without firing a gun. "I have no doubt of it,—said Dr. Johnson. Some men have a method of quelling riots, which others have not, just as you have a method of defending them which I have not." The Doctor's conversation was highly respectful to religion, and though he was now and then offensive in his manners, I left his company under an impression that I had passed a day which deserved always to be remembered with pleasure. I once dined with Dr. Goldsmith in the Temple where he had rooms. He was entertaining, but he wanted the usual marks of a great and original genius. He told his company that the Vicar's wife in his Vicar of Wakefield, was intended for his mother. He repeated a number of the lines in the Deserted Village a year or two before it was published in a very animated manner. He spoke with the Irish accent.

By means of a Dr. Bruce I was introduced to Mrs. Macauley, the celebrated republican historian of England. She invited me to her evening coterie, which met once a week at her house. I met there some of the first literary and political characters in the British nation; among whom were Mr. Burgh, Sir Adam Ferguson, Captain Phipps, Lord Nuneham, General Webb and Mrs. Macauley's brother, Alderman Sawbridge. The subjects of conversation which were literary and political were discussed with elegance and good breeding. Mr. Burgh bore an active and entertaining part in them. Mr. Sawbridge once said, "that the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt who succeeded him, were alike partial to *fools* in their appointments, but that the former preferred *dull* fools and the latter *sprightly* fools." It was the first time in my life I had ever heard gravity and sprightliness separated from a supposed necessary connection with talents. I have an hundred times since seen the propriety of this remark. Mrs. Macauley was sensible

and eloquent, but visionary in some of her ideas. I once heard her say, laws were defective in not rewarding virtue, as well as punishing vice. One of the company, I think Mr. Phipps, objected to this opinion, and said very justly that a good man's favorable reception by the world was reward enough for his virtues. I once took the liberty of telling her that some grammatical errors had been made by the printers of her history. "No (said she) they are my errors and not the printer's. I have constantly refused to have them corrected, least it should be suspected that my history was not altogether my own." She visited Philadelphia in the year 1783, at which time she told me that she had had but little education, that she was a thoughtless girl 'till she was twenty, at which time she contracted a taste for books and knowledge by reading an odd volume of some history which she picked up in a window of her father's house.

While I was in Britain, Mr. Wilkes was the object of universal attention. The nation was divided into his friends and enemies according as they espoused or opposed the measures of the government. Mr. Wilkes was expiating some political offence in Newgate while I was in London. My curiosity was excited to see the man that had so universally agitated and divided a nation. Arthur Lee of Virginia, who knew him intimately, invited me to accompany him to a dinner which he had prepared in prison for a number of his friends. The company consisted of fourteen or fifteen gentlemen and the conversation was interesting and agreeable. Mr. Wilkes abounded in anecdotes and sallies of wit. He was perfectly well-bred. Not an unchaste word or oath escaped his lips. I was the more surprised at this as he had been represented a monster of immorality. After dinner I stept into a small adjoining room which contained his library. His books consisted chiefly of histories and common place literature from which I formed an indifferent opinion of his taste and judgment. A man's pictures and books are generally pretty correct copies of the intellectual and moral qualities of his mind.

By means of a letter from Dr. Gibbons I was introduced to Wm. Cromwell, great grandson to Oliver Cromwell and grandson to Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a deacon of the Doctor's church and seemed to pass the evening of his life in innocent retirement in a small house in Hatten garden. He was at the time I saw him near seventy years of age. He shewed me his grandfather's commission appointing him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It began with these words, "To *our* trusty, and well beloved son." The name of O. Cromwell was written above this inscription in large letters. He shewed me likewise Oliver's watch, many of his letters and coins, and finally presented me with impressions upon wax of two of the seals which hung to his watch. The one is the private seal of his family arms, the other is the seal of the Commonwealth of England. I still possess them both. He had a perfect remembrance of his grand uncle Richard Cromwell. He stood at the head of his bed when he died, and walked as chief mourner at his funeral. He was at that time ten years old.

I was frequently and kindly entertained by Messrs. Ed. and Charles Dilly, Booksellers in London. At their hospitable table I met with many gentlemen of literary characters. Indeed their book store was a kind of Coffee house for authors. It was at their table I met Mr. Alexander Cruden, the laborious author of the Concordance of the Scriptures. He had been deranged from hard study, but was now in good health. He spoke but once, but what he said struck me very forcibly. "God (said he) permits a great deal of the sin that is committed in this world to pass with *impunity* to convince us that there is a day of Judgment, but he now and then *punishes* it, to convince us that he governs the world by his Providence."

I was indebted to another Bookseller in London of the name of Donaldson for many civilities. He was a Scotchman of good character. He had a brother in extensive business in Edinburgh.

The Rev. Mr. Coombe, a relation of mine from Philadelphia, lodged in the same house with me in London, and was my companion in many of my visits, and walks in the city. We often spent the day in different circles and brought home in the evening the results of what we had seen or heard. My relation and friend possessed taste and memory. He went into a good deal of learned company, more especially of the clergy, from whom he collected many curious anecdotes, all of which he imparted to me in the most agreeable manner. He was well acquainted with Dr. Jortin, Dr. Heberden and Dr. Saunders. Dr. Saunders spoke often to him of the learned Dr. Samuel Clark. He called him a "reasoning machine."

I never had much taste for public amusements, but if I had, my slender resources would have prevented my enjoying them while I was in London. I passed but three or four evenings at the Theatre, where I once heard the celebrated Garrick perform, and afterwards deliver an Epilogue composed for the occasion, which was for the benefit of decayed actors. He appeared to be equal in every respect to his fame. While other players *boiled,* he alone *simmered,* was the remark a foreigner once made upon his manner of acting. This was strictly true. It was reported when I was in London that Mr. Garrick was dead; the next day it was contradicted; the day afterwards the following lines appeared in the newspaper, which are highly expressive of his talents as a speaker:

> "Garrick is dead! so prattles fame,
> "The bard replied, it cannot be;
> "Garrick, and *nature* are the same
> "Both born——for immortality."

The other popular players whom I saw perform were Powell, Holland, Shutor, Weston, King, Barry and Mrs. Barry. The last had great merit as a speaker. I visited all the public buildings, institutions and shews that usually attract the notice of strangers. I likewise visited most of the large

and curious manufactories that were carried on in London, and wrote down descriptions of them. In these visits and observations I was once accompanied and assisted by Mr. Wolfe, an ingenious chemist of London.

I once saw the King (George 3d) and his family at his Chapel, and once at a Levee. I saw him likewise go in great pomp to the House of Lords to open a session of Parliament.

I once heard Lord Mansfield speak with great perspicuity and elegance upon a law question in the House of Lords.

I attended the House of Commons and there saw the celebrated speakers Col. Barre and Mr. Burke. Neither of them spoke while I was in the House of Commons.

I went once into Westminster Hall, but was not so happy as to hear any of the first lawyers speak at the bar. Lord Mansfield presided in the court.

I spent several hours in Westminster Abbey, and in viewing the curious objects in the tower. A description of both is to be met with in books. I shall therefore pass them over in silence.

I visited no place with half so much pleasure as the British Museum. Everything rare and curious in nature or art was exhibited there. My friend Dr. B—— of Maryland who accompanied me in my visit to this place, upon seeing anything that struck him suddenly, had a habit of exclaiming, "God bless my soul." "I hope he will," said Dr. Gifford, the keeper of the Museum. "Do what," said Dr. B—— "Why, bless your soul;—was it not that you prayed for?" Dr. B—— was confused and made no reply. The whole company seemed struck with the reproof.

Many characters have been given of the English nation. To different people the same objects often appear in different forms or colors. There was in my view at the time I was in London, a variety in the manners of the people of England, as great as their ranks and occupations. The nobleman, the commoner, the country gentleman of large

and moderate fortune, the common farmer, the merchant, the shopkeeper, the tavernkeeper, the tradesman of a large capital and his journeyman, the lawyer, the physician, the Bishop, the unbeneficed clergyman, the dissenting minister, the military officer and soldier, the sailor, the waterman, the lamplighter, the hackney coachman, the hawkers, the beggar, had each a *specific* character. They were all, it is true, in some points Englishmen, but in many more they were as dissimilar from each other as if they had belonged to different nations.

In February I set out for Paris with letters of introduction from Dr. Franklin, to several of his philosophical friends. When I parted with the Doctor he asked me "how I was provided with money for my jaunt." I told him I believed I had enough. "Perhaps not, you may be exposed to unexpected expenses, here, said he, is a credit upon a banker in Paris for two or three hundred guineas." I thankfully accepted his kind and generous offer. The issue of it will be mentioned hereafter. Nothing worth relating occurred in my journey to Paris. I arrived there in a few days after I left London, and was introduced by means of my letters to the following persons, Messrs. Dubourg, a physician, Le Roy, an Academician, Roux, Baume, Macquair, Chemists, Sue, the Anatomist, Nollet, lecturer upon natural philosophy, Jessieu, botanist to the king, Diderot, the philosopher and friend of Voltaire, and some others of less note. By means of Dr. Dubourg I was introduced to the Marquis of Mirabeau, who kept a coterie once a week at his house, to which I was invited. Upon my entering his room which was large and filled with ladies and gentlemen of the first literary characters in Paris, Dr. Dubourg announced me in the following words, "Voila, un ami de Mons. Franklin." The Marquis ran towards the door and took me by the hand, saying at the same time, "C'est assez." The subjects of conversation were economics, liberty and government. The Farmers letters written by Mr. Dickinson had then been recently translated into the French lan-

guage. They were praised with enthusiasm by all the company. Many questions were asked, relative to the author of them, which I was able to gratify. Upon my mentioning to the Marquis an account which had been published in a Philadelphia newspaper, that a gentleman in Virginia had left Mr. Dickinson a large estate as an acknowledgment of his esteem, and admiration of his letters, the Marquis remarked with great fervor, "J'en suis faché, les richesses corrompt le coeur." This account I found afterwards was without foundation. The only refreshment given at this coterie was coffee. Several ladies attended it.

The members of this society consisted of some men who bore an active part in the events of the first years of the French revolution. The seeds of the revolution, it has been said by one of its enemies, were sowed by the meetings and publications of this society.

There was but little worthy of notice in my intercourse with the other gentlemen I have named. Mr. Jessieu bore an excellent character for morals as well as for science. Dr. Dubourg said of him, before I saw him, that "he possessed all the knowledge of the present world, and all the goodness of the world to come."

I heard the Abbe Nollet give a lecture upon natural philosophy. The subject of it was the mechanic powers. It was received with claps of applause by an audience consisting of 300 persons.

Mr. Diderot entertained me in his library. He gave me a letter to Mr. Hume when I left him. I delivered this letter to Mr. Hume upon my return to London; it gave me an opportunity of spending a part of a forenoon in his company. His conversation at this time was general. He had a picture of Rousseau in his room which he said was like him, especially in having his "peevish countenance."

I visited all the public hospitals in Paris, but without entering myself a pupil in any of them. The Hotel de la Charité was remarkably neat, and clean, and the patients

well accommodated. Many of them were nursed by nuns of noble families. The Hotel Dieu was crowded and offensive. I saw four persons in one bed. It was open to the sick of all religions and countries.

I visited all the galleries and churches that were known for containing celebrated pictures. Two of these pictures struck me above all others. One was of Mary Magdalen weeping, in the church of the Carmelites; the other was of a woman dying with the plague and receiving the sacrament from the hand of a priest. It was in the church of the Virgin Mary. Pain, sickness and death all appeared in her countenance.

It would require many pages to describe all the elegant pieces of statuary which attracted my attention in Paris. I was struck most by a representation of Cardinal Richlieu in marble, on his death-bed, in the church of Sorbonne. It has been pronounced a perfect piece of statuary. When Peter the Great of Russia saw it, he fell upon it and exclaimed, "O Richlieu! I would give half my dominions for such a minister."

The public buildings, particularly the palaces of the kings, are very splendid, a description of them is to be seen in many publications. The foundling hospital was to me a most agreeable sight. Eighteen or twenty children were admitted into it, the night before I saw it. The door of the hospital is always open, and a basket made like a cradle, is placed near it into which the infant is placed. A bell is then rung, to give notice to the keepers of the hospital of what has been done. In the meanwhile, the person who brings the infant disappears. It is supposed that one-eighth of all the children born in Paris are brought up by means of this institution. The motto over the door of the hospital is very appropriate to the condition of the children. It is, "Mon pere et ma mere m'ont abandonnés, mais le Seigneur a pris soin de moi." My father and mother have abandoned me, but the Lord hath taken care of me.

Curiosity led me to visit Versailles where I spent a

whole day. The palace and the garden were magnificent and beautiful. I saw the King Louis the XV pass through a large hall to a gallery in his chapel where he went to Mass. A loud voice announced his coming. It was, "Le Roi vient."

I stood within a few feet of him as he walked along, attended by several priests and noblemen. I followed him afterwards into his chapel where I remained until Mass was over. His behaviour in chapel was dignified, and apparently devout. He had a good eye, and an intelligent countenance and hence he was said to be "the most sensible looking fool in Europe." I saw the Dauphin, his two brothers the Count de Provence and the Count d'Artois dine in public. The Dauphin was between 15 and 16, and appeared dull in his intellects, and vulgar in his manners. The Count d'Artois was sprightly and courteous to all who approached him. I was afterwards admitted to see the King's daughters dine in a private apartment in the palace. They appeared to be about forty years of age. I saw nothing remarkable about them but a large quantity of paint on their cheeks.

In contemplating the French character, concentrated as it was in Paris, I was struck with its immense difference from that which I had observed in the character of the English nation. There appeared to me to be but *one* Frenchman in Paris. There was no variety in their manners. The same taste in dress pervades all classes from the nobleman to the beggar. The same phraseology was heard in their language. "Honor" and "pleasure" were the hackneyed words that composed a material part of it. The subjects of conversation, except among literary men, had no variety. Amusement and anecdotes of the court formed a principal part of them. The King was at this time the idol of the nation. He was called "Lewis the well beloved." The extent of the attachment of the nation to him and the principles of the French monarchy may be best conceived by the following anecdote. I heard Mr. Wilkes

say on the day I dined with him at Newgate, that he once dined with twelve gentlemen in Paris, eleven of whom declared they should think it their duty to surrender up their wives to the King if he desired it.

Civilians divide mankind into three great classes, viz. savages, barbarians and civilized people. The savage lives by fishing and hunting, the barbarian by pasturage, and the civilized man by agriculture. There is a certain chain which connects each of these classes together, so that they appear to be different parts of one circle. All extremes meet in a point. The highest degrees of civilization border upon the savage life; as the individuals of the human race are once men and twice children, so nations are once civilized and twice savages. I shall illustrate these remarks, by mentioning certain traits of resemblance between the manners of the French nation (the most civilized of any nation in the world) and the Indians in North America.

1st. The people of rank and fortune among the French are very fond of fishing and hunting. These employments are with them the sources of pleasure only, but with the Indians they are the means of pleasure and subsistence. It would seem from this fact, that man is naturally a wild animal, and that when taken from the woods, he is never happy in his natural state, 'till he returns to them again.

2d. The French people are fond of ornamenting their faces by means of *paint;* so are the Indians. The ladies in France take no pains to conceal the practice of painting their faces. They sometimes take out their boxes in their carriages in the streets of Paris, and paint their faces by means of a pocket looking glass, in the presence of many hundred passing spectators.

3d. The French people eat their principal meal in the evening. The same practice prevails among the Indians. They both agree in eating a little and often during the day.

4. There is a fourth custom in which I observed the French people to resemble the Indians, and that is they seldom address each other by their proper names. It is no uncommon thing for a Frenchman when called by his name in company to say, "Sir, I am much obliged to you for putting me in mind of my name, but I assure you I had not forgotten it." In favor of this omission of which the French are so tenacious, I must remark that the best bred people that I have ever met with rarely accost each other with their names in company. I am at a loss to point out the foundation of this custom in nature. We observe it to obtain among the Indians in North America. They call one another so seldom by their names that some travellers have supposed they have none. As they are divided into little tribes which marry within themselves, they become in a little time related in such a manner that they call each other by a name expressive of some of those relations, such as *Father, Mother, Sister, Brother* and *Cousin.* The latter of these epithets they use to all those persons whose relationship is too distant to be traced. The other epithets are used according to the age or respectability of the person who is addressed.* (A note below.) This custom among the Indians has been urged with other circumstances, to prove their descent from the Jews, who it is well known frequently addressed each other in this manner. Thus we find Abraham says to Lot, we are brethren, whereas he was but his nephew, and Jacob tells Rachel that he was her father's brother, when no such relationship subsisted between them. The universality of the practice that has been mentioned, seems to shew that there is a foundation for it in nature, and as it is calculated to remove the distance and coldness that separates man from man, real advantages might arise from its being more generally adopted.

5. The laborious occupations are held in contempt by the French nation; even commerce is said to taint the blood

* See Charlevoix's voyage dans l'amerique septentrionale, Vol. V, page 427

and to degrade family honor. The same sentiment prevails among the Indians. Labor is the exclusive business of their women and the weak or cowardly part of their men.

6. The military art is held in the highest estimation in France and arms confer the first rank in society. "A t'il servi," that is, has he been in the army, is the first and often the only question that is asked when an enquiry is made into the character of a young gentleman. The same preference is given to the business of war among the Indians. The highest praise that can be given to an Indian is to say that, "he is a great warrior."

Having gratified my curiosity to its greatest extent in Paris, I set out for London on the 21st, and arrived at Calais on the 25th of March. The next day I crossed the channel, and arrived at Dover. I left this town on the 27th and reached Dartford on the evening of the same day. I intended to have proceeded further, but was restrained from it, by the suspicious conduct of a man who rode several times around the post-chaise in which I was, with a lady and gentleman, and who from his conversation with the postillion discovered an evident design to rob us. This apprehension was not without its use, and probably became the accidental means of saving a life. About 8 o'clock the next morning in riding towards London the postillion stopped our carriage and said he heard a voice from the side of the road in a piece of wood calling for help. As I sat nearest to the spot from whence the voice came, I ran first to enquire for the cause of it and soon discovered a poor woman lying upon an old blanket who told me she was in labor. I told her I was a Physician and offered to relieve her. She thankfully accepted of my offer, and in ten minutes with the assistance of the lady who was with me in the carriage, I delivered her of a fine boy. She was speechless for some time afterwards, but in this state, she took my hand and pressed it to her lips in the most affecting manner. After waiting about ten minutes her husband

came to her with two women whom he had picked up in the neighbourhood, one of whom took the child from us. We lifted her into our post-chaise, and drove her to a little village which was about a mile and a half behind us, where we left her in a comfortable house, with as much money as was sufficient to support her for several days. When I arrived in London and mentioned her case to the lady with whom I lodged (a Mrs. Jeffries in the Haymarket) she sent her a bundle of clothes for her child and sundry other things that were necessary and comfortable for her. I was informed two years after that she had called to see me at Mrs. Jeffries' and that she had called her little boy by my name.

A day or two after I arrived in London I called upon Dr. Franklin, and informed him that my expenses in Paris had so far exceeded my expectations that I had been obliged to avail myself of his kind offer, by drawing upon his banker for thirty guineas. He seemed pleased, and requested that I would pay them, when convenient, to his wife in Philadelphia. This I did, out of the first money I earned after my arrival. Mrs. Franklin for a long time refused to receive it, for the Doctor had not mentioned the debt to her in any of his letters. I take great pleasure in recording this delicate act of paternal friendship in Dr. Franklin. It attached me to him during the remainder of his life, and combined with his character it has, since his death, disposed me to respect and love all the branches of his family.

I left London on the 24th of May in a post-chaise and reached Gravesend the same evening, where I spent two days. On the evening of the 26th I embarked on board the ship Edward, Captain Salmon, bound to New York with the following cabin passengers: Daniel Coxe of New Jersey and his mother; Col. Gabriel Christie and his niece; Major Skene; Lieut. Dysert of the British army, and a certain John Fricke, a London merchant or shopkeeper. We lost sight of land in a few days. The last view I took

of the white cliffs of Britain, from the stern of our ship was an affecting one,—all the ancient and modern glory of that celebrated and highly favoured island rushed upon my mind. I enjoyed in silence this pensive retrospect of the finest country in the world, until distance snatched it forever from my sight. There was a great variety in the characters of my fellow passengers and the incidents of the voyage gave a perfect knowledge of each of them. Mr. Coxe was at all times well-bred and agreeable. His excellent mother made us forget at times everything that was disagreeable at sea, by her pleasant and instructing conversation. She was learned and well informed upon all subjects, composed in danger and so patient under contrary winds that it seemed as if she was at home in the cabin of our ship. Col. Christie had seen a great deal of service, had been in many battles, and mixed much with the world. His conversation bore the complexion of what he had seen and heard, and was at all times interesting. His niece was a handsome girl without much education. Major Skene was a civil, inoffensive, well-bred gentleman. Lieut. Dysert was a man of a more interesting character. He had served during the last preceding war in Germany under Prince Ferdinand and the Marquis of Granby, and abounded with anecdotes of each of those officers, as well as in the details of the war. I passed many pleasant hours with him on the deck, after most of the crew had retired to rest, listening not only to the history of military events, but to incidents of a private nature in the history of his life. He was a very accomplished gentleman, always inoffensive, and ever ready to do good offices. I never heard him swear nor mention the name of the Supreme Being in an irreverent manner. He was a native of Ireland. The person who called himself John Fricke, had a strange mixture of opposite qualities in his character. He knew London perfectly, and all the arts and tricks of business among traders of every description. He was facetious upon some occasions, but his chief delight was to talk upon the pleas-

ures of the table. He had lived among the Methodists, and had some of their peculiarities, but not enough of what is excellent and praiseworthy in that sect. It was a practice of good Mrs. Coxe to read a sermon in the cabin every Sunday, or to have one read by her son. Mr. Fricke objected to being present upon these occasions, because the sermons were only upon moral subjects. Upon my remonstrating with him upon this conduct, he told me if I would compose a sermon and read it in the cabin the ensuing Sunday, he would listen to it. To this I consented. The cabin and several of the steerage passengers assembled at the usual hour after dinner. The sermon contained a history of Mr. F's principles, conduct and appetite taken from a character described in the Proverbs of Solomon. The whole company applied it to him. He took the sermon from me as soon as I had read it, and claimed it as his property. I heard a few months after my arrival that he read it to a company of gentlemen in Maryland with whom he supped and informed them that the subject of it was one of his fellow passengers. I never heard of him afterwards.

Our Captain was an attentive seaman, and treated every person on board with civility and in some instances with kindness. He was a native of Scotland.

It has been said there is always more or less inquietude both of body and mind at sea. It is owing to this state of the body and mind that Dr. Franklin used to say, "there were three classes of people who did not care how little they got for their money, viz. schoolboys, sermon hearers and sea-passengers. "I felt it in the most sensible manner. I was but little affected by sea sickness, and that but for one day, but I was never perfectly well. My appetite was weak and no food had its usual taste, and yet I was never easy but when I was eating, or for an hour or two after it. My mind was equally restless and unsettled. The only remedy I found for it was reading and study. Having sent most of my books to Philadelphia by a vessel that sailed before me, I was obliged to borrow such books

as I could procure from the ship's company. Mr. Coxe lent me the first three volumes of Blackstone's Commentaries, all of which I read with uncommon attention and pleasure. I afterwards read Foster's Crown Law. To the reading of these books, I ascribe in part the relish for political science which I felt in the beginning of the American Revolution. Our Captain lent me an entertaining Italian novel which he had picked up at Leghorn, entitled the "Countess of the North," which helped to render a few hours of every day less tedious. After reading this work and several other novels I procured from the steerage passengers, I found I had exhausted all the stock of common books on board the ship. In this situation I should have relapsed into the inquietude of mind I have described, had not my friend Mr. Dysert offered to teach me the German language. For this purpose he put a grammar and German dictionary into my hands. By reading the grammar over I became acquainted with the principles and construction of the language. A German steerage passenger furnished me with a Bible in which I read constantly so that in the course of a few weeks I began to understand what I read with but little aid from a translation or a dictionary. While I was advancing with rapidity in this study, I was suddenly called off on the 14th of July by the cry of land. This at once dissipated all my ardor in the pursuit I was engaged in, and produced a new tide of impressions upon my mind. I viewed the American shore with a rapture that can only be conceived by persons who have been in my situation. In the afternoon of the same day we anchored off New York. I was received on the wharf by my old classmate and friend Ebenezer Hazard, who conducted me to his partner's Garret Noel's, where I was most kindly received and entertained. The first refreshment I tasted after I came on shore was a dish of tea with bread and butter. It had a relish to me which I never before perceived in food of any kind and such as is perceived after extreme hunger, and in the convalescent

state of a fever. Three things struck me in the appearance of the people I saw in the streets of New York. 1st. They had less color. 2nd. They walked less erect, and 3dly. They moved with a less quick step than the citizens of London. This difference in the complexion and manner of walking in the two countries ceased to attract my attention after I had been a few weeks in America. The evening, and day after my arrival, I felt an uncommon depression of spirits, the usual effect of a high tide of joy upon the system. I now believe the many accounts which have been published, of melancholy and even suicide following similar emotions of the mind. Two days after my arrival in New York, I set off in the stage for Philadelphia. I met my brother and my old classmate and friend Jon'th. Smith at Bristol with whom I came into town on the evening of the 18th of the month. I was received by my dear mother and sisters with tears of joy which soon became reciprocal. Several succeeding days were spent in receiving visits from my fellow citizens, and in returning them. In the course of a week I settled in a house which had been previously taken for me in Arch Street, between Front and Second Streets. My brother who had just begun the practice of the law, lived with me. A sister who had been unfortunate in her marriage, kept house for us. In this situation I was led to deliberate on the usual modes of a physician's getting an establishment in business, for I well knew, that had I possessed ever so much knowledge or sagacity in my profession, they would avail nothing in my favor. The principal means which introduce a physician into business are as follows:

1. The patronage of a great man. From this quarter I had no hopes.

2. The influence of extensive and powerful family connections. From this quarter likewise I had nothing to hope.

3dly. The influence of a religious sect or political party. At the time of my settlement in Philadelphia the influence of the religious society in which I had been chiefly educated, viz. the Presbyterians, was too small and too much divided to afford me much support. Besides I was too feebly attached to their principles and forms to have any claims upon them. My intercourse with other sects while I was abroad had led me to consider all denominations of Christians with a more equal eye than I had done in early life, and had divested me of an undue predilection for either of them. The Presbyterian society was moreover not only small and divided, but it was the object of the jealousy of two societies, viz. Quakers and Episcopalians, who possessed between them the greatest part of the wealth and influence of the city. It was in vain therefore to expect patronage from either of them. The Quakers had long been in the habit of confining their business chiefly to persons who belonged to their society or who favoured their views in politics. I do not complain of this conduct; it is natural. I mention it as a reason why I had recourse 4thly, to the only mode of succeeding in business which was left for me, and that was by attending the poor. I had been much struck in reading when a boy that Dr. Boerhaave had said that "the poor were his *best* patients, because God was their paymaster." I had heard that Dr. Cullen had been established in Scotland and Dr. Fothergill in London chiefly by their extensive and successful practice among the poor. My natural disposition made this mode of getting into business agreeable to me, for I had a natural sympathy with distress of every kind. My conduct during my apprenticeship moreover paved the way for my success in adopting it, for I had made myself acceptable at that time to the poor by my services to them; and in a few months I was fully employed. I recollect at one time in the first year of my settlement I prescribed after returning from a morning walk for sixteen different patients and charged but one of them. Several of my poor patients

lived at Kensington and in distant parts of the Northern Liberties and Southwark and some of them lived as tenants at the country seats near the city. These I visited and mostly on foot, for the first years after my settlement, and supplied them with all the medicines they required out of my own shop. I soon found my labor was not in vain. The reputation ascribed to some cures I had performed, and the faithful attendance I was said to give my patients where no reward was expected, in a little while begat other business. I had seen the Suttonian manner of *giving* and *treating* the smallpox in London and introduced it into our city. The mode of infecting the arm by a small puncture, instead of a long incision, was a very popular one, and brought me many patients, some of whom continued to employ me in other diseases. I had learned likewise from my master Dr. Cullen to give but few medicines in diseases, and to rely more upon diet and drinks than had been common in Philadelphia. This likewise helped to introduce me into business. The circumstances that influence opinion and choice and of course the fate of a physician are too numerous and many of them too trifling to be mentioned. The following fact will best illustrate this remark, and shew that medical skill has but little share in them. I was once sent for to see a respectable Scotch sea captain in Southwark. I had never heard his name before. After I had examined his disease, he told me that he had great confidence in me and that he had made choice of me as his physician because he had often witnessed my decent behaviour in time of divine service in the Rev. Dr. Allison's church. This man employed me as long as he lived, which was twenty years afterwards, and his recommendations brought me several families in his neighbourhood. Several other persons made it their business to recommend me to their friends whose names I take great pleasure in recounting. They were, the Rev. Mr. William Marshall by whose means I was employed by nearly every family in his congregation. This congregation it is true was at that

time small and poor, but their business was useful to me. David McMurtrie, a Scotch merchant, had been acquainted with my mother and had formed an attachment to me upon her account before I went abroad. Upon my return, he took me by the hand, and recommended me to his acquaintances as a physician. His manner of doing this was artful, and therefore not ascribed to any interest he took in my establishment. If he heard of anybody being very ill, he made it a practice to enquire who was his Doctor. If my name was not mentioned, he expressed his surprise at it, and added long details of my opportunities of instruction in Edinburgh, and of my having been the pupil of the two Hunters in London, both of whom he knew in early life. Mrs. Patten, a celebrated midwife, was very successful in speaking in my favor. One of the most friendly and profitable families that I ever attended, employed me in consequence of her recommendations. In addition to the aid I derived from the circumstances and friendly exertions that have been mentioned, I was a good deal assisted by being appointed Professor of Chemistry in the College of Philadelphia the month after my arrival. This held me up to public notice now and then in the newspapers, and made my name familiar to the public ear much sooner than it would have been. It was likewise an immediate source of some profit. For this appointment I was indebted to the early friendship of Dr. John Morgan, who first advised me to qualify myself for it before I went to Edinburgh in 1766.

To counteract all these efforts of my own and of others to acquire business in my profession, several of the old and established physicians of the city became unfriendly to me in consequence of my having broached some parts of Dr. Cullen's system of medicine in my lectures. This system was built upon the ruins of Dr. Boerhaave's, which was then the only prevailing system of medical principles and practice in America. I do not recollect in the course of the first seven years settlement in Philadelphia that any one of my

brethren ever sent a patient to me, and yet several of them had more applications daily than they were able to attend to. The system of Dr. Cullen was calumniated and even ridiculed in the newspapers with my name connected with it. Perhaps my manner of recommending it provoked this opposition, for I know by experience, as well as observation, that an indiscreet zeal for truth, justice or humanity has cost more to the persons who have exercised it, than the total want of zeal for anything good or even zeal in false and unjust pursuits. One of the physicians of the city complained in severe terms of my having given at my table in the presence of a number of students of physic, the following toast. "Speedy interment to the system of Dr. Boerhaave, and may it never rise again."

However unpopular and offensive the system of Dr. Cullen was when first broached by me, I lived to see it adopted by all the physicians who had opposed it—nay, more, I lived to see it adhered to and defended with great obstinacy when an attempt was made to alter and improve it twenty years afterwards.

In the year 1770 I published in the newspaper some observations on the Cynanche trachialis, called at that time in our city by the name of *hives*. In this publication I adopted a new opinion of the proximate cause of that disease. I supposed it might exist in the wind-pipe from a *spasm*, without any secretion of mucus, or the formation of a membrane. This opinion has been confirmed by many dissections.

In 1771 I published three essays with the title of "Sermons to gentlemen upon temperance and exercise," without my name. They were well received before it was known who was the author of them. I heard of a physician who commended them in high terms when he believed they were written by another person, and abused them as extravagantly when he discovered they came from my pen.

In the year 1771 or 72 a petition was circulated to the legislature praying them to increase the duty upon negro

slaves imported into the province. To aid this petition I published an "Address to the inhabitants of the British Colonies upon slave keeping," in which I endeavoured to shew the iniquity of the slave trade. A reply was published to this address by a Mr. Nesbit from the island of Nevis, which drew from me a vindication of my address in a pamphlet. This publication had an extensive circulation and I believe did some good in removing several errors and prejudices upon the subject of domestic slavery,—but it did me harm, by exciting the resentment of many slaveholders against me. It injured me in another way, by giving rise to an opinion that I had meddled with a controversy that was foreign to my business. I now found that a physician's studies and duties were to be limited by the public, and that he was destined to walk in a path as contracted as the most humble mechanic. The influence of these publications was but transitory upon my business. It continued to increase, so that in the year 1775 it was worth about 900£ a year, Pennsylvania currency.

From the time of my settlement in Philadelphia in 1769 until 1775 I led a life of constant labor and self denial. My shop was crowded with the poor in the morning and at meal times, and nearly every street and alley in the city was visited by me every day. There are few old huts now standing in the ancient parts of the city in which I have not attended sick people. Often have I ascended the upper story of these huts by a ladder, and many hundred times have I been obliged to rest my weary limbs upon the bedside of the sick, from the want of chairs, where I was sure I risqued, not only taking their disease, but being infected by vermin. More than once did I suffer from the latter. Nor did I hasten from these abodes of poverty and misery. Where no other help was attainable, I have often remained in them long enough to administer my prescriptions, particularly bleeding with my own hands. I review these scenes with heartfelt pleasure. I believed at the time that

they would not lose their reward. "Take care of him, and I will repay thee," were words which I have repeated a thousand times to myself in leaving the rooms of this class of sick people. Nor have I been disappointed. Here therefore will I set my seal to the truth of the divine promises to such acts of duty. To His goodness in accepting my services to His poor children I ascribe the innumerable blessings of my life—nay more *my life* itself. A fact that induced a belief in this shall be mentioned in its proper place.

If I have rendered any services to my fellow citizens, or added any facts or principles to that part of the science of medicine which relates to Epidemics, I owe both to the knowledge I acquired by my familiarity with diseases among the poor, in whom they appear *early* and in a simple state. To my unfettered prescriptions in their diseases I owe likewise much of my knowledge of the doses and effects of medicines.

While my days were thus employed in business, my evenings were devoted to study. I seldom went to bed before 12 o'clock, and many, many times have I heard the watchman cry 3 o'clock, before I put out my candle. I recollect when I began to feel languid or sleepy at late or early hours, I used to excite my mind by increasing the heat and blaze of my fire in winter, or by exposing myself a few minutes in a balcony which projected over Water street, from my back parlour in Front street near Walnut, where I resided till the year 1780, after living but a few months in the house in which I first settled.

During the interval between 1769 and 1774 I kept but little company. Now and then I gave a dinner or a supper to a stranger and to a few young merchants in my neighbourhood. They were Scotchmen, and some of them possessed education and sentiment. I mixed freely in female society, and occasionally spent afternoons in the company of ladies upon parties of pleasure both in town and in the country. In another place I shall mention my accepting

a medical appointment in the military hospitals of the United States in the month of April 1777, and the causes that induced me to resign, on the 30th of January 1778.

I carried with me into private practice a good deal of knowledge acquired in the military hospitals. It was there I learned the safety and advantages of giving opium in low fevers, and of adding other stimulants to opium in the treatment of the locked jaw. My business from this time was extensive, but less profitable than it should have been, from being obliged to receive the payment of my bills in paper money which frequently depreciated 2 & 300 per cent below their value at the time they were delivered to my patients.

In the Autumn of 1780 I was attacked by the prevailing epidemic of that season, known and described by the name of the breakbone fever. It yielded in a few days to an emetic and bark. Upon my recovery from this fever and before I had left my room, I dreamed that a poor woman came to me just as I was getting into my chair in Penn street, and begged me to visit her husband. I told her hastily, that I was worn out in attending poor people, and requested her to apply to another Doctor. "O! sir (said she lifting her hands) you don't know how much you owe to your *poor* patients. It was decreed that you should die by the fever which lately attacked you, but the prayers of your poor patients ascended to heaven in your behalf, and your life is prolonged only upon their account." This answer affected me so much that I awoke in tears. I have been as little disposed to superstition as most men, and have often exposed the folly of being influenced by dreams, by explaining their cause by obvious physical principles. The dream I have related left a deep and lasting impression upon my mind. It increased my disposition to attend the poor, and never, when I could not serve them, to treat them in an uncivil manner.

In order to relieve myself from the pressure of too much business, and to assist me in the care of the poor, I

took one of my pupils Dr. James Hall into partnership with me. He had previously spent 15 months in attending lectures in London and the practice of St. Thomas's hospital. This connection was the more necessary, as frequent attacks of a pulmonary affection rendered it unsafe for me to go out in the night and bad weather. It would have answered the design intended by it, had it not been represented by some of my medical brethren as a preparatory measure to my declining business, and devoting myself exclusively to public pursuits. This partnership instead of increasing lessened my business. Its dissolution was hastened by Dr. Hall's marriage to Miss Hartley and subsequent settlement in Yorktown in 1785.

In the year 1779, I opened a book, and recorded in it an account of the diseases of every season, and frequently of every month in the year, together with a history of the weather and the state of vegetation. I have continued this register every year since, and have derived great advantages from it in my studies and practice.

For many years after I settled in Philadelphia I was regulated in my practice by the system of medicine which I had learned from the lectures and publications of Dr. Cullen. But time, observations and reflection convinced me that it was imperfect and erroneous in many of its parts. The discovery of its imperfections and errors produced a languor in my mind in discharging the duties of my profession, and a wish at times to relinquish it. In some diseases my practice was regulated by theory, but in others it was altogether empirical. I read, I thought and I observed upon the phenomena of diseases, but for a while, without discovering anything that satisfied me. The weight of Dr. Cullen's name depressed me every time I ventured to admit an idea that militated against his system. At length a few rays of light broke in upon my mind, upon several diseases. These were communicated first to my pupils in my lectures, and afterwards to the public in a volume of observations and enquiries in the year 1786. In

the year 1789 I was chosen successor to Dr. Morgan in the chair of the theory and practice of physic in the College of Philadelphia. It now became my duty to deliver a system of principles in medicine. After much study, and inquietude both by day and night, I was gradually led to adopt those which I have since taught from my professor's chair, and the press. The leading principle of my system was obtruded upon me suddenly, while I was walking the floor of my study. It was like a ferment introduced into my mind. It produced in it a constant and endless succession of decompositions and new arrangements of facts and ideas upon medical subjects. I was much assisted in the application of the principles that had occurred to me, by conversing with my pupils. Their questions and objections suggested many hints to me which enabled me to fortify my principles where they were weak, and to extend them to new diseases. Dr. Brown's system of medicine which was published about this time, assisted me likewise a good deal in my inquiries. I adopted some of his terms in the new nomenclature of my principles. From this circumstance, superficial readers have supposed that his system and mine are the same. Several of my opinions were upon record, in my publications, before the name of Dr. Brown was known in America, as a teacher of medicine, and many more of them are as much opposed to his system as they are to that of Dr. Cullen.

The system I adopted was not merely a speculative one. It led to important changes in the practice. Where it did not suggest new remedies, it led to circumstances in the exhibition of old ones, which determined their safety and success. My practice from this time became much more successful than it had been before, and I experienced a pleasure in it, which reconciled me to all its toils, and caused me to rejoice in those acts of providence which had originally directed and restrained my studies to medicine.

In the innovations which I at this time attempted, I was not actuated by ambition or a desire of being the

founder of a new sect of physicians. It was always one of my numerous weaknesses to hold great men in too much veneration, and no one in greater than my master Dr. Cullen. I was at first passive in my new opinions, and when I indulged them I as little expected their tendency and prevalence, as I now do to end my days at Lambeth in possession of the See of Canterbury. It is not to him that willeth, nor to him that runneth, but to the overruling hand of heaven that we are to look for the successful issue of all human events.

Humble and unworthy instruments are often employed in promoting the physical as well as moral happiness of mankind, in order to confound the splendor of those external circumstances which attract, and fix the esteem of the world.

The propagation of my new opinions had an immediate influence upon my business. It lessened it, by precluding me from consultations, for most of my brethren in Philadelphia were devoted to Dr. Cullen's system of medicine, and opposed to the least deviation from it. It would be improper to ascribe my exclusion from consultations wholly to the influence of my new opinions. The part I took in favor of my country in the American Revolution, had left prejudices in the minds of the most wealthy citizens of Philadelphia against me, for a great majority of them had been loyalists in principle and conduct. It was said my meddling with politics was their reason for not confiding their health or lives to my care.

This was not true, for the same people had upon former occasions given a lucrative establishment, by their patronage, to physicians who had been exclusively devoted to politics or other pursuits equally foreign to medicine, but these physicians thought and acted with them in matters that related to liberty and government. Other things contributed to offend my medical brethren besides the novelty of my opinions and practice. I had declared medicine to be a science so simple that two years' study, instead of four

or more, were sufficient to understand all that was true and practical in it. I had rejected a great number of medicines as useless, and had limited the materia medica to fifteen or twenty articles and in order to strip medicine still further of its imposture I had borne a testimony against enveloping it in mystery, or secrecy by Latin prescriptions, and by publishing inaugural dissertations in the Latin language in the medical school of Philadelphia. In the latter I was so happy as to be completely successful.

In a city of the size of Philadelphia, there will always be a number of men who neither read nor think upon medical subjects, and there will always be a few who both read and think for themselves. Neither of these classes have prejudices and of these in addition to strangers who were directed to me by physicians in other States and in the West Indies were my patients wholly or chiefly composed. They formed, when united, a large body, and rendered my business more extensive for many years than any physician in the city. The institution of the Dispensary in 1786 reduced the number of my patients by one-fourth but still I had constant employment.

I remarked in the account of my residence in Edinburgh that the rejection of the political principles in which I had been educated, and the adoption of republican principles, had acted like a ferment in my mind, and had led me to try the foundations of my opinions upon many other subjects as well as that of government. To the activity induced in my faculties, by the evolution of my republican principles by the part I took in the American Revolution, I ascribe in a great measure the disorganization of my principles in medicine. The same republican ferment produced similar commotions and I hope a similar precipitation of the feculencies of error, upon the subjects of education, penal laws and capital punishments,—upon each of which I published a number of essays in the "American Museum," the "Columbian Magazine," and other periodical works. A selection of them has since been published in an octavo volume by Samuel Bradford of Philadelphia.

My opinions upon the latter subjects subjected me to some abuse and ridicule in the public newspapers. I met with but three persons in Philadelphia who agreed with me in denying the right of human laws over human life, when my publication against capital punishments first made its appearance, but in less than two years I had the satisfaction of observing that opinion to be adopted by many hundred people; more especially among the Society of Friends.

But I did not content myself by merely attacking old errors and prejudices from the press. I assisted in the institution of societies to carry them into effect. I was likewise for a while an active member of several societies whose objects were altogether of a humane nature. They were the society for the gradual abolition of slavery; the prison and the humane societies. I likewise assisted in forming the constitution of the College of Physicians, and was for a while a punctual member of it.

I was often asked how I found time to discharge my business, compose lectures, answer letters, write for the press and attend so many different societies. I shall now answer that question.

1. I never went out of my house in a morning before 9, half past 9 and sometimes 10 o'clock, except called by a sudden indisposition, or by a consultation at an earlier hour. By this means I received all new applications so as to arrange them with the business of the morning.

2. I lost no time in my own house. The scraps of time which interposed between the hour I returned from visiting my patients and the times of eating I spent in light reading, or answering letters, or such pieces of business as required but little abstraction of mind. The evenings from 7, 8 or 9 o'clock when not engaged in business or company were always spent in study, sometimes in the same room with my wife and children, but latterly in a

room appropriated to my use. I seldom left it till 11 or 12 o'clock at night.

3. After the year 1789 I rarely dined or spent an evening out of my own house.

4. I derived *rest* from fatigue in reading by writing; and from writing by reading, so as to require no other relaxation of body or mind for many hours. I likewise varied my studies, by which means no one of them ever palled, and I think I preserved my mind in a more pointed state by this practice, to every study, I learned it from Rousseau's history of his life.

5. By visiting my patients in a carriage, I lost but little time out of doors. I was carried to them with more quickness, and was less liable to interruptions and delays in the streets than when I visited them on foot.

6. As I advanced in years I became more frugal of my time. To a young lady who was misspending her time, I once said I would willingly give a dollar, were it possible, for every hour she could not employ; and often have I when thinking of the lost hours of my youth, wished for "one ten thousandth of those hours that did no work"*—or that produced no fruits of study when I was a young man.

7. I obviated the usual effect of hot weather in producing an inability to read, and thereby a waste of time, by spending the hot months in writing for the press. The greater exertion necessary to compose than to read, always obviated sleepiness. It had the same effect upon me after dinner and late at night.

Many new ideas occurred to me when riding, walking or between the times of my waking and leaving my bed in the morning. I made it a practice to commit them to

* Shakespear's Henry IV.

paper with a pencil when absent from home. In sickness and in the convalescence from fever, many new ideas were likewise obtruded upon my mind. In writing it was likewise invigorated, so much so, that I have more than once relinquished an opinion I sat down to defend, and embraced the one that was opposed to it. Conversation often suggested new views of subjects, even with persons who knew less of them than myself. But *teaching* was the principal means of increasing new combinations in my mind. They frequently occurred in my chair, and were delivered extempore to my pupils. The nature of my profession prevented my trying the effects of solitude upon my intellectual faculties, but the few fortuitous experiments that I made, gave me no reason to expect anything from it, for I do not recollect ever acquiring a single new idea by *sitting still*, and doing nothing in my study.

In acquiring knowledge I did not depend exclusively upon books. I made, as far as was in my power, every person I conversed with contribute to my improvement. I was visited by many literary strangers, and I kept up a constant intercourse with several of the most distinguished philosophical characters who resided in, or occasionally visited Philadelphia. As I wished to be correct, in the knowledge I acquired by conversation, I made it a practice to record it in a book kept for that purpose after the manner as I supposed of Mr. Boyle. By thus committing it to paper, I was able to use it more confidently in my lectures and publications.

In reading borrowed books, I always made extracts from them, and marked down references to the pages of my own books in my common place book. As soon as I determined to publish upon any subject, I opened a head for it, and set down all such facts and thoughts as were related to it, that occurred to me in reading, conversation and reflection.

In the year 1791 an union took place between the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania,

in consequence of which the annihilation of the professorship of the theory and practice of physic which I held became necessary. Dr. Adam Kuhn was chosen my successor, and I was elected professor of the institutes of medicine, and of clinical practice. The cases which were to furnish materials for clinical lectures were to be selected from the Pennsylvania Hospital. I accepted my new appointment with great diffidence, and considered it for a while a sacrifice of interest and reputation to a desire of promoting harmony among the professors of medicine. I had neglected no part of my former studies so much as Physiology, and I well knew the difficulties and controversies which hung over that science. There were but six weeks between my appointment, and the time in which the lectures usually commenced, and those weeks, being in the autumnal months, were generally the most sickly, and busy part of the year. I began to prepare for the duties of my new professorship by reading Boerhaave, Dr. Haller, Hunter, Gregory, Cullen's manuscript lectures, and many small tracts upon physiological subjects. From none of them did I derive so many useful hints as from Dr. Hartley's treatise upon the frame of man. About two weeks before the meeting of the classes, I sat down to compose my lectures, and during the winter in the midst of constant business I finished and delivered a course of lectures upon the institutes of medicine. Never before had I stretched my faculties to such an extent. I slept but little and lived sparingly during this severe paroxysm of bodily and mental exertion. My lectures were well received by my pupils, particularly those upon animal life, which were published at the request of successive classes in the year 1799. My visits to the hospital at this time were more frequent than in former winters. This became necessary in order to prepare for my clinical lectures, which were delivered in the University twice a week.

From the year 1789 to the year 1793 my business increased in extent and profit, more especially among

strangers. My lectures commanded an increasing class. Having relinquished public pursuits, I led a retired life, associating chiefly with my patients and a few literary friends.

Thus employed, I met the epidemic of 1793. The lapse of years has not much lessened the painful recollection of the events of that melancholy year. I have described them, as far as they relate to myself, in a narrative of the state of my body and mind during the prevalence of the fever, which is subjoined to an account of it. Other events might easily be made to swell that narrative; but I forbear to record them.

My new opinions and practice in medicine had for many years before 1793 produced a good deal of secret hostility to me in many of my brethren. It discovered itself I have said in their opposition to my being called into consultation with them. It appeared likewise in the business of the College of Physicians. One of my brethren discovered his enmity to me in constant efforts to dissuade the students of medicine from attending my lectures. The success which attended the remedies which it pleased God to make me the instrument of introducing into general practice in the treatment of the fever of 1793 produced a sudden combination of all who had been either publicly or privately my enemies, and the most violent and undisguised exertions to oppose and discredit those remedies. Dr. —— led the van in a publication against them. It was followed by many others from practitioners of less note. The influence of these publications threatened the depopulation of the city. For a while I opposed them with gentleness in private conferences with my brethren in the streets, and in several friendly and respectful communications to the College of Physicians. It was all to no purpose. The sudden increase of my business and the public effusions of gratitude which issued from many persons who ascribed the preservation of their lives to my remedies, produced fresh acts of hostility towards me. I saw marks of the most

inveterate malice in their conduct, but I saw what vexed and distressed me much more—and that was marks of ignorance of the most common and obvious facts and principles in epidemics. Never did I feel less unkindness to a fellow creature than at this time. I considered myself as shortly destined to the hearse and ambition of course held forth no prospects of future advantages from a victory in a contest with my brethren. No, citizens of Philadelphia, it was for your sakes only I opposed their errors and prejudices, and to this opposition many thousand people owed their lives. Had I consulted my own interest or reputation, I would have concealed my remedies, instead of communicating an account of them to the apothecaries, who derived large sums of money from the sale of them, much less would I have endeavoured to teach the people to cure themselves by my publications in the newspapers, after they were deserted by their family physicians.

In reviewing my conduct upon this occasion I have examined its motives with leisure and severity and have not been able to criminate myself. I condemn myself only for some harsh expressions which I made use of in speaking of the conduct and practice of those who set themselves against me. The occasion will palliate, if it does not justify them. I was contending with the most criminal ignorance, and the object of the contest was the preservation of a city.

The most offensive thing I did to my brethren was refusing to consult with them. This was an effect of a painful sense of duty to the sick, who are always the sufferers or sacrifices by consultations between physicians of opposite principles and practice. I had often before the year 1793 seen and deplored their consequences without daring to object to them. At this time, I was impressed with a more affecting sense of their folly and wickedness, and to my independence in refusing any longer to submit to them I owe the rapidity with which I ripened and established my mode of practice.

To prevent the recurrence of the fever, I early pointed out its domestic origin. In this opinion I was opposed by nearly the whole College of Physicians, who derived it from a foreign country, and who believed it to be a specific disease. They were followed by nearly all the physicians of Philadelphia.

Soon after the fever left the city I dissolved my connection with the College of Physicians. It had long been disagreeable to me, and I derived no improvement from it, equal to the time my attendance upon its meetings consumed. The leading members of it had now, moreover, become my open enemies. I accompanied my resignation with the following letter to Dr. Redman, the President of the College.

Dear Sir,

I beg you would convey by means of this letter my resignation of my fellowship in the College of Physicians.

I request at the same time their acceptance of a copy of Dr. Wallis's edition of the works of Dr. Sydenham.

With the tenderest sentiments of respect for yourself, I am, dear sir, your sincere friend, and the College's well-wisher.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

5th November 1793.

I intended, by the present of Dr. Sydenham's works, to convey to the College a defence of the principles which had regulated my practice in the yellow fever, and a rebuke of the ignorance of many of the members of the College of the most common laws of epidemics, which are recorded in almost every page of that author.

A number of cases of yellow fever occurred in the summer and autumn of 1794, and a few in the same season in 1795 and 1796. In order to direct the attention of our citizens to its only cause and remedies I conceived it to be my duty to call all the cases of that fever which came under

my notice by its unpopular name. This well-meant and proper conduct exposed me to many unkind and cruel reflections from my fellow-citizens. They were stimulated to them by several of the physicians who held a contrary opinion to mine of the origin of the disease.

In the year 1797 the yellow fever became again epidemic. During the two preceding years an intercourse had been revived between two of the physicians whom I had offended by not consulting with them in 1793, and we had attended several patients together with harmony and success. To a third, whom I had offended, I had made overtures of reconciliation, and to none of the others had I offered any recent causes of hostility.

Soon after the fever appeared, Dr. Griffitts published without his name some plain and sensible directions to the citizens for the treatment of the fever. This publication was ascribed to me in Fenno's paper, and a most virulent invective against me connected with it. It was soon afterwards followed by torrents of abuse in a paper conducted by one Cobbett, an English alien who then resided in Philadelphia. The publications in these two daily papers were continued for near six weeks against my practice and character, particularly against my political principles, which were those of the federal republic of our country. A member of the College of Physicians avowed himself the author of the most malignant of these publications. All these different attacks upon my character and practice were well received by many of my fellow-citizens. Some of them considered them as a just punishment for my political principles, while many more acquiesced in them, as the probable means of destroying the influence of a man who had aimed to destroy the credit of their city by ascribing to it a power of generating yellow fever. Among these two classes of my enemies, were several persons whose lives I had contributed to save in the year 1793.

Their design proved successful. They lessened my business, and they abstracted so much of the confidence

of my patients as to render my practice extremely difficult and disagreeable among them. To put a stop to their injurious effects upon my business, and the lives of my patients, I commenced civil actions against both the printers. The issue of one of them shall be mentioned in another place.

Between the year 1794 and 1799 I published three volumes of medical enquiries and observations in addition to two former volumes which bore the same title. They contained among other things a history of the yellow fever as it appeared in our city in 1793—1794—and 1797. I published in the year 1797 my lectures upon animal life, and two small pamphlets on the origin of the yellow fever which I addressed to the citizens of Philadelphia.

From the year 1793 till 1797 my business was stationary in Philadelphia, after 1797 it sensibly declined. I had no new families except foreigners, added to the list of my patients and many of my old patients deserted me. Even the cures I performed added to the detraction that had taken place against my character, when they were effected by remedies that were new and contrary to the feelings of citizens. No ties of ancient school fellowship, no obligations of gratitude, no sympathy in religious or philosophical opinions, were able to resist the tide of public clamor that was excited against my practice. My name was mentioned with horror in some companies, and to some of the weakest and insignificant of my brethren false tales of me became a recommendation to popular favor.

To supply the diminution of the resources of my business, my wife's uncle Mr. Boudinot applied to Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, in my behalf for the office of Treasurer of the Mint rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Way in the fever of 1797. There were about forty applications for it. Upon my being nominated by the President, several persons remonstrated against my appoint-

ment, urging that I was a French Democrat. Even Mrs. Adams was applied to, to use her influence with the President against me. These efforts proved ineffectual to shake the President's determination. "I know (said he) Dr. Rush's principles perfectly. He is no more a French Democrat than I am." When I received the appointment I waited upon him to thank him. He took me by the hand, and with great kindness said, "You have not more pleasure in receiving the office, than I have in conferring it upon an old Whig."

In order to oppose the weight of associated numbers to the influence of the College of Physicians, I assisted during the winter of 1798 in forming a society, the principal object of which was to collect and publish proofs of the domestic origin of the yellow fever. It was called the "Academy of Medicine." Their publications in favor of their opinion fell dead from the press and of course produced no change in the sentiments, and but little in the conduct of the citizens of Philadelphia.

On the 14th of December, 1799, a jury fined Wm. Cobbett 5000 Dollars for his publications against me. He had at this time removed to New York where he vented his rage in a number of publications of the same complexion with those he had published in his newspaper, but with many additional falsehoods.

I had been too much accustomed to defamation and ingratitude to be affected by them, in the degree that was expected. I attended my patients and applied to my studies while they were circulating, with my usual punctuality and industry. I drew upon the comforts and supports with which Christianity abounds, to those who suffer persecution in the cause of truth and humanity and while my enemies exulted in the ruin which they supposed they had brought upon my character, I was favoured with such composure and satisfaction of mind, such confidence in the future justice and goodness of heaven towards me, as enabled me to treat all the slanders against me with silence. In the

course of a few months they were neglected and forgotten. In this instance I experienced the truth of a remark I had often heard made by Dr. Witherspoon that, "Scandal died sooner of itself than we could kill it."

I have carefully avoided mentioning the names of my medical enemies. I bear them no malice. I yielded to a duty superior to the love of peace, in opposing their opinions and practice, and that is, the love of the lives of my fellow-citizens. If I had entertained a desire for revenge, it would have been amply gratified by seeing them all adopt that practice and some of them, those opinions which they had so strenuously opposed and vilified. I forgive them from the bottom of my soul, and I thank God I feel a heart disposed not only to be reconciled to them, but to do them acts of kindness. I desire that my children may never remember the injuries they have done me, but treat them and their posterity as if they had been my friends. We shall soon lie down in the grave together, and afterwards enter upon a state of existence where we shall be as much ashamed of the matters that now divide us, as we are of our contests about the highest seat on a bench, or about jackstones in the schools of our childhood.

It would be criminal in me after mentioning the number and malignity of my enemies, not to acknowledge my obligations to Heaven for the friendship I experienced from many of my medical brethren in Philadelphia. These were my venerable master Dr. Redman, Dr. Griffitts, Dr. Physic, Dr. Sam Duffield, Dr. John R. Coxe, Dr. Mease, Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Dewees, Dr. Say, Dr. Gallaher, Dr. Stewart and some others. There were some other medical gentlemen from whom I never experienced an injury and who always treated me with civility. They took no part in the controversy which divided me from the leading members of the College of Physicians.

A few miscellaneous remarks shall close the history of this part of my travels through life. At the time of my writing them I review one and thirty years spent in the

study and practice of physic, under circumstances of labor, self denial and danger to health and life, that have not often been exceeded by physicians in modern times. The product of this labor would probably have been much greater from several of the mechanical arts or from agriculture, than it has been from my profession. By the depreciation of paper money and the loss of business to which I exposed myself by my taking part in the American war, I have said, I sacrificed not less than £10,000. Including the business I did without charging for it, and bad and absolved debts, I have not been paid for more than one-fifth of the labor of my life.

I never sued but six persons in the course of my practice for medical services, by which lenity I lost many hundred, probably thousand pounds. I give myself no credit for this conduct to my debtors in many instances; on the contrary I injured the practice of physic, and society by it, by encouraging many people to exercise similar injustice to other classes of creditors. I believe further, that I injured myself by it, for patients who became indebted to me and refused to pay my bills, not only left me, but as a justification of their conduct, used their influence to persuade others to follow them in employing other physicians.

I made it a constant practice to reduce or forgive my bills when my patients asked it. In some instances I did this where it was not asked, when I heard that my patients were poor, or had met with some unexpected misfortune. I always considered my first obligations to be to my patients, and therefore made every other duty to society, yield to them.

I frequently exposed myself to reproach from the regular bred physicians by attending patients with quacks, and with practitioners of physic of slender education. I justified this conduct by saying that I rescued the sick from the hands of ignorant men, and gave them a better chance of being cured, and at the same time instructed them in a

regular mode of practice. I am satisfied that I did good by my condescension, and that many poor people owe their lives, and one practitioner in physic in Philadelphia owes his fortune in part to it.

I took great pleasure in promoting the advancement of young physicians in knowledge and business. I have received returns of gratitude from but few of them. Those whom I served most essentially have been my greatest enemies. Such have been the acts of hostility I have received from some of those physicians I have obliged most, that I have sometimes thought when any of them called upon me for a favor, to demand from him previously to granting it, a written obligation with a penalty that he would not at a future day injure me.

I have found the least gratitude from those families in which I had performed the greatest services. The slightest act of inattention has often cancelled the obligations created by years of attention and even friendship. Many families whom I attended in low and obscure situations for nothing or for very small compensations, left me when they got up in the world. They could not bear to be reminded by my presence of their former poverty or humble employments.

I never but once spoke an angry word to a sick person. Many, many cruel reproaches and insults have I received in sick rooms, to which I have made no reply. This self command was the effect of reasoning and sympathy. I considered invalids as under a physical influence which rendered them in some measure the machines of their passions. The person whose insolence I resented was an officer in the American army. He was a man of true courage, but his good sense got so much the better of his pride and ill-temper, that he politely asked my pardon. I afterwards cured him, and charged him nothing for my services.

I never charged an officer or soldier of the American army anything for my medicines and attendance upon them during the whole of the Revolutionary war.

I once lost the business of a respectable and worthy family for several years by taking up a newspaper which

lay upon a table and reading it, while the lady of the house was giving me an uninteresting history of the case of one of her family.

I made it a practice to speak with great uncertainty and caution of the fatal issue of diseases, and yet I once lost the business of a worthy patient, whom I advised to lose blood, by telling him that if he delayed it four and twenty hours "he might be a dead man."

I once offended an American officer who expressed a fear of dying with some camp disease, by telling him that to "die of a bullet was the natural death of a soldier." I alluded here to Sterne's remark that "to break the neck by a fall from the box of a carriage is the natural death of a coachman." I seldom predicted the issue of acute diseases in life or death. To a patient whom I attended in consultation with Dr. ——— I said he was out of danger. He died in a few hours afterwards with a rupture of an abscess in his liver.

How wide are the circles which error and folly create in the minds of men! These four acts of inattention, ignorance and ill-timed pleasantry, did me more harm than a thousand instances of extraordinary attention to the sick, well-timed anecdotes, or of just predictions of the issue of diseases, would have done me good. With all the folly and indiscretions of my life, with all the odium which my opinions in medicine, politics and religion exposed me, and with all the pecuniary defalcations which have been mentioned, I believe I did more business and with more profit, between the year 1769 and 1800 than any cotemporary physician in Philadelphia. Thus it is the Providence of God often blesses men in spite of themselves, and finally protects them from the coils to which an adherence to the dictates of their judgments, and well meant endeavours to promote knowledge and public happiness, expose them.

My persecutions have often been such as to subject me to the pity of my friends, and even of my enemies. Upon comparing them with the pleasure I have enjoyed in the

investigation, discovery and promulgation of truth, and in the practical duties of my profession, they appear to be light and trifling. I have given them a place in this work, chiefly to shew how feeble their weight is when opposed by a belief in a divine government over the affairs of individuals, by a constant and at all times a delightful sense of fellowship in suffering from calumny with good men in all ages and countries, by a conviction of the present extent, and a hope in the future benefit of my labors to mankind, and by a consciousness amidst many failings of aiming well. Brutus said in the close of his life, that he had devoted himself to his country, and had led a life of liberty and glory. I can say with equal truth, I early devoted myself to the interests of science, and humanity, and have through the mercy of God led a life in which the good I have enjoyed, has predominated infinitely over all the evil I have felt and merited.

However trifling it may appear, I cannot help an acknowledgment of the good providence of God in having preserved me from *falls* in climbing and descending stairs, and from insults in the streets in the most lonely places, and at all hours of the night, during the course of one and thirty years.

I acknowledge His goodness likewise in having been preserved from great losses by securityships. I have lost it is true nearly one thousand pounds of loaned money, but I lost but a few hundred dollars by endorsing a note for a friend.

An Account of Political and Military Events and Observations

I had, previously to my going abroad, become acquainted with the claims of my country to an exemption from taxation by the British Parliament. During my residence in Edinburgh my attachment to political justice was much increased by my adopting republican principles. Thus prepared and predisposed, I took an early, but obscure part in the controversy between Great Britain and the American Colonies in the year 1773. Having published several essays in the newspapers in favor of the claims of my country, which attracted notice, I was admitted into the confidence of John Dickinson (the author of the Farmer's letters), Charles Thompson, Thomas afterwards General Mifflin, and George Clymer who then by their publications governed the public mind in Pennsylvania. Their influence was much aided by a pamphlet written by James Wilson who then lived at Carlisle, and by the conversation of Edward Biddle an eminent lawyer who then lived at Reading. From these sources proceeded for a while nearly all the political information which set Pennsylvania in motion, and united her with her sister colonies. My profession gave me an opportunity of discovering the errors and prejudices which hung over the minds of the middling class of our citizens upon the subjects of liberty and government. These were communicated to some of the above gentlemen, by whom they were combatted and refuted. I was not idle at this time with my pen. I wrote under a variety of signatures, by which means an impression of *numbers* in favor of liberty was made upon the minds of its friends and enemies. In September 1774, the first Congress met in Philadelphia. I went as far as Frankford to meet the delegates from Massachusetts, and rode back into town in the same carriage with JOHN ADAMS and two of his colleagues. This gentleman's manners were at that time plain and reserved. He asked me many questions relative to

the state of public opinion upon politics and the characters of the most active citizens on both sides of the controversy. Of the answers to these questions he reminded me in the year 1798.

I waited upon all the members of the first Congress and entertained most of them at my table. John and Samuel Adams domesticated themselves in my family. Their conversation was at all times animating and decided in favor of liberty and republicanism. Their characters will be given elsewhere. Patrick Henry from Virginia was my patient under inoculation for the smallpox. He was amiable in his manners and a zealous advocate for the claims of his country. I never heard him speak in public, but his private opinions upon men and things shewed a deep and correct knowledge of human nature. I recollect that he disapproved of the expedition into Canada for the purpose of exciting an insurrection in that province against the British government. He said, "Men would never revolt against their ancient rulers, while they enjoyed peace and plenty." The event proved that he was right. When I told him that Genl. Warren had fallen in the battle of Bunker's Hill on the 19th of April, 1775, he said in an exulting manner, "I rejoice to hear it. His death will do a great deal of good. We wanted some breaches made upon our affections to awaken our patriotism and to prepare us for war." The conversations with this gentleman and many other members of the first and second Congresses constituted feasts of noble sentiments. Our country was then untainted by speculation. A selfish spirit was scarcely known. The errors of the British government and the corruptions of the British Court, were the common subjects of complaint and declamation in all Whig companies. It seemed as if every man who acted for the public was then honest and in earnest. Benevolence was actuated by new objects. It embraced the nations of Europe, and finally the whole family of mankind, who, it was daily said, were interested in the issue of our struggle. During the first

Congress I spent a long evening at General Mifflin's in company with General Washington, the two Adams', General Lee, and several other gentlemen who acted a conspicuous part in the American Revolution. After supper several of the company looked forward to the probable consequence of the present measures, and state of things. John Adams said he had no expectation of a redress of grievances, and a reconciliation with Great Britain, and as a proof of this belief, he gave as a toast, "Cash and gunpowder to the Yankies." The war which he anticipated, it was expected would begin among the New England men, who were then called Yankies both by their friends and enemies.

The evening after the adjournment of this Congress, a number of the members invited those citizens of Philadelphia who had entertained them to a supper at the City tavern. I was present. The company was large, and the conversation animated by the most fervid patriotism. Mr. Dean a delegate from Connecticut discovered distant and correct views of what would probably follow the measures adopted by Congress, both in Britain and America. But Governor Ward of Rhode Island extended his views much farther in the following toast. "May the fire which has been recently kindled upon the altar of liberty in America, enlighten all the nations of the world into a knowledge of their rights." Wm. Livingston, afterwards Governor of New Jersey, contributed very much to the pleasure of this evening by his facetious stories and conversation.

I continued a spectator only of the events which passed in our country in the winter of 1775. The battle of Lexington gave a new tone to our feelings, and I now resolved to bear my share of the duties and burthens of the approaching revolution. I considered the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain as inevitable. The first gun that was fired at an American cut the cord that had tied the two countries together. It was the signal for the commencement of our independence and from this time all my publications were calculated to prepare the public mind to adopt that important and necessary measure.

The second Congress met in May 1775. I mixed freely with them, particularly with the two Adams and other members from New England, who had anticipated and even cherished the idea of independence.

A few days after the appointment of General Washington to be Commander-in-chief of the American army, I was invited by a party of delegates and several citizens to a dinner which was given him on the banks of the Schuylkill below the city. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, James Wilson, Jno. Langdon of New Hampshire, and about a dozen more constituted the whole company. The first toast that was given after dinner was the "Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies." General Washington rose from his seat, and with some confusion thanked the company for the honor they did him. The whole company instantly rose, and drank the toast standing. This scene so unexpected was a solemn one. A silence followed it, as if every heart was penetrated with the awful, but great events which were to follow the use of the sword of liberty which had just been put into General Washington's hands by the unanimous voice of his country.

About this time I saw Patrick Henry at his lodgings, who told me that General Washington had been with him, and informed him that he was unequal to the station in which his country had placed him, and then added with tears in his eyes, "Remember Mr. Henry what I now tell you—from the day I enter upon the command of the American armies, I date my fall and the ruin of my reputation."

During the session of the Congress the General went to Cambridge accompanied by General Lee, Thomas afterwards General Mifflin his aid de camp, and several other military gentlemen. Thousands thronged to see him set off from lodgings. T. Mifflin held his stirrup while he mounted his horse.

About the year 1774 a certain Thomas Paine arrived in Philadelphia from England with a letter of recommenda-

tion to his family in Philadelphia. Mr. Paine said his object was to teach a school, or to give private lessons upon geography to young ladies and gentlemen. While he was waiting for employment, Robert Aitkin applied to him to conduct the United States Magazine. He did this with great ability and success for several months. In one of my visits to Mr. Aitkin's book store I met with Mr. Paine and was introduced to him by Mr. Aitkin. His conversation became at once interesting. I asked him to visit me which he did a few days afterwards. Our subjects of conversation were political. I perceived with pleasure that he had realized the independence of the American Colonies upon Great Britain, and that he considered the measure as necessary to bring the war to a speedy and successful issue. I had before this interview put some thoughts upon paper, upon this subject, and was preparing an address to the inhabitants of the Colonies upon it. But I had hesitated as to the time, and I shuddered at the prospect of the consequences of its not being well received. I mentioned the subject to Mr. Paine, and asked him what he thought of writing a pamphlet upon it. I suggested to him that he had nothing to fear from the popular odium to which such a publication might expose him, for he could live anywhere, but that my profession and connections which tied me to Philadelphia, where a great majority of the citizens and some of my friends were hostile to a separation of our country from Great Britain, forbad me to come forward as a pioneer in that important controversy. He readily assented to the proposal, and from time to time he called at my house, and read to me every chapter of the proposed pamphlet as he composed it. I recollect being charmed with a sentence in it, which by accident, or perhaps by design, was not published. It was as follows. "Nothing can be conceived of more absurd than three millions of people flocking to the American shore, every time a vessel arrives from England, to know what portion of liberty they shall enjoy." When Mr. Paine had finished his pamphlet, I advised him to shew it to Dr.

Franklin, Mr. Rittenhouse, and Mr. Samuel Adams, all of whom I knew were decided friends to American independence. I mention these facts to refute a report that Mr. Paine was assisted in composing his pamphlet by one or more of the above gentlemen. They never saw it until it was written and then only by my advice. I gave it at his request the title of "Common Sense".

The printing of this pamphlet was the next thing to be done. For this purpose I applied to Thomas Bell, a Scotch bookseller of a singular character, but a thoughtless and fearless Whig and an open friend to independence, to undertake the publication of it. He enjoyed the proposal. I sent Mr. Paine to him, and in a few weeks the pamphlet made its appearance. Its effects were sudden and extensive upon the American mind. It was read by public men, repeated in Clubs, spouted in schools and in one instance delivered from the pulpit instead of a sermon, by a clergyman in Connecticut. Several pamphlets were written against it, but they fell dead from the press. The controversy about independence was carried into the newspapers, in which I bore a busy part. It was carried on at the same time in all the principal cities in our country. I was actuated by the double motives of the safety of my country and a predilection to a republican form of government which I now saw within her grasp. It was a blessing I had never expected to possess at the time I adopted Republican principles in the city of Edinburgh. These principles were daily nourished by conversations with Samuel and John Adams, David Rittenhouse and Owen Biddle, all of whom appeared to be Republicans from choice. Mr. Rittenhouse informed me that he had never held any other principles in government, and that the only person he had ever known who thought with him was his brother-in-law John Jacobs of Chester County, who had been a Republican above twenty years.

In the month of August I paid a visit to my old friends Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Stockton at Princeton. I met Mr. Stockton and his lady at a tavern a few miles from Princeton

and was conducted by him to his house, where I was kindly entertained as his guest for several days. His eldest daughter, a young lady between 16 and 17 years of age soon attracted my attention. She was engaging in her manners and correct in her conversation. I had seen a letter of her writing to Mrs. Ferguson which gave me a favorable idea of her taste and understanding. It was much strengthened by an opinion I heard her give of Dr. Witherspoon's preaching the next day after I saw her. She said he was the best preacher she had ever heard. Such a declaration I was sure could only proceed from a soundness of judgment and correctness of taste seldom to be met with in a person of her age, for there was nothing in Dr. Witherspoon's sermons to recommend them, but their uncommon good sense and simplicity of style. From this moment I determined to offer her my hand. Soon after I returned to Philadelphia I wrote to her mother (who had been my acquaintance and friend when a boy at the College of Princeton) for her and Mr. Stockton's permission to visit their daughter. This request was politely granted. After several visits my suit was blessed with success, and I was married to her on the 11th of January, 1776. There was fourteen years difference in our ages. I had carried her in my arms from the college hall to her father's house on the evening after a commencement in the year 1763. The influence of this connection upon my happiness and conduct in life will be taken notice of in another place.

From scenes of domestic joys, I return to the history of events produced by the revolutionary state of our country.

In the winter of 1776 I was elected a member of what was then called a committee of inspection for carrying into execution the resolves of the Congress. Here I took an active part, both in their debates and business. From the increase in the quantity of money and the scarcity of some articles of merchandise, there was a great increase in their price. The committee attempted to restrain this evil, by publishing an order limiting provisions and imported goods

to their old prices. I stood nearly alone in my opposition to this measure. To shew its impracticability I read a passage from Hume's History of England in which similar attempts to subject the articles of trade to legislative prices, had not only failed of success, but produced a scarcity of provisions that bordered upon famine. The precedents of Mr. Hume had no effect upon the clamors that were urged in favor of the adoption of the measure, and it was finally carried by nearly an unanimous vote. I now saw that men do not become wise by the experience of other people. Subsequent observations taught me that even our own experience does not always produce wise conduct, though the lessons for that purpose are sometimes repeated two or three times.

With the best dispositions to act properly the people in America imitated the blunders of nations in situations similar to their own, and scarcely succeeded in a single undertaking, till they had exhausted all the errors that had been practiced in the same pursuits, in other countries.

In this committee I was often disgusted in observing an intolerant spirit towards the persons who were opposed to the war. I frequently advocated or palliated their conduct, by which means I lessened my influence among my Whig fellow-citizens. I was notwithstanding appointed one of a delegation to meet deputies from the committees of all the Counties of the State, in order to fix a mode of calling a Convention to form a new Constitution for Pennsylvania, agreeably to a recommendation of Congress of the 15th May, 1776. The committee met, in what they called a conference, and fixed upon the time and manner of choosing a Convention for the above purpose.

I had frequent occasion to observe that the Tories and Whigs were actuated by very different motives in their conduct, or by the same motives operating with different degrees of force. The following classes of each of them was published by me in the early stage of the war in Dunlap's paper. There were Tories, 1st.—from an attachment

to power and office. 2ndly.—from an attachment to British commerce which the war had interrupted or annihilated. 3dly.—from an attachment to kingly government. 4thly.—from an attachment to the hierarchy of the Church of England which it was supposed would be abolished in America by her separation from Great Britain. This motive acted chiefly upon the Episcopal clergy, more especially in the Eastern States. 5thly.— from a dread of the power of the country being transferred into the hands of the Presbyterians. This motive acted also upon many of the Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and upon the Episcopalians, in several of those States where they had been in possession of power, or of a religious establishment.

It cannot be denied, but that private and personal considerations actuated some of those men who took a part in favor of the American Revolution. There were Whigs, 1st. From a desire of possessing, or at least sharing in the power of our country. It was said there were Whigs, 2ndly. From an expectation that a war with Great Britain would cancel all British debts. 3dly. There were certainly Whigs from the facility with which the tender laws enabled debtors to pay their creditors in depreciated paper money. 4thly. A few men were Whigs from ancient or hereditary hostility to persons, or families who were Tories; but 5thly. A great majority of the people who took part with their country were Whigs from a sincere and disinterested love to liberty and justice.

Both parties differed as much in their conduct as they did in the motives which actuated them. There were, 1st. Furious Tories who had recourse to violence and even to arms to oppose the measures of the Whigs. 2ndly. Writing and talking Tories. 3dly. Silent, but busy Tories in disseminating Tory pamphlets and newspapers and in circulating intelligence. 4thly. Peaceable and conscientious Tories who patiently submitted to the measures of the governing powers, and who shewed nearly equal kindness to the distressed of both parties during the war.

The Whigs were divided by their conduct into, 1st. Furious Whigs who considered the tarring and feathering a Tory a greater duty and exploit than the extermination of a British army. These men were generally cowards and shrunk from danger when called into the field, by pretending sickness, or some family disaster. 2ndly. Speculating Whigs. These men infested our public councils as well as the army, and did the country great mischief. A Colonel of a regiment informed a friend of mine that he had made a great deal of money by buying poor horses for his wagon and selling them again for a large profit, after he had fattened them at the public expense. 3dly. Timid Whigs; the hopes of these people rose and fell with every victory and defeat of our armies. 4thly. Staunch Whigs; these were moderate in their tempers, but firm—inflexible and persevering in their conduct.

There were besides these two classes of people, a great number of persons who were neither Whigs nor Tories. They had no fixed principles, and accommodated their conduct to their interest, to events, and to their company. They were not without their uses. They prevented both parties in many instances from the rage of each other, and each party always found hospitable treatment from them.

Perhaps the inhabitants of the United States might have been divided *nearly* into three classes, viz., Tories, Whigs, and persons who were neither Whigs nor Tories. The Whigs constituted the largest class. The third class were a powerful reinforcement to them, after the affairs of America assumed a uniformly prosperous appearance.

I remarked further that many of the children of Tory parents were Whigs, so were the Jews in all the States.

On the 2nd of July the Congress passed a vote declaring the United States to be free, and independent, and on the 4th of the same month they published the declaration of independence.

This act was called by General Green a "bold speculation." It was happily a successful one. Human wisdom

has derived more honor from it than it deserves. Most of the men who had been active in bringing it about were blind actors in the business. Not one man in a thousand contemplated or wished for the independence of our country in 1774, and but few of those who assented to it foresaw the immense influence it would soon have upon the national and individual character of the Americans. It would have been a truth if God had said it, that "the way of man is not in himself and that it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps."

On the 20th of July I took my seat in Congress in consequence of an appointment received from the Convention that met to form a constitution for Pennsylvania. A few days afterwards I subscribed a copy upon parchment of the declaration of independence.

I was surprised to observe how little of the spirit of that instrument actuated many of the members of Congress who had just before subscribed it, proofs of this remark shall be given in the characters of several of them in another place.

I took a part in several debates. The first or second time I spoke was against a motion for a Committee of Congress, to meet Lord Howe in their private capacity, to confer upon a peace with Great Britain. On the same side of the question John Adams, Dr. Witherspoon and George Ross spoke with uncommon eloquence. The last of those gentlemen began his speech by asking—what the conduct of George the 3rd would be had Congress proposed to negociate with him as Elector of Hanover instead of King of Great Britain—he would spurn, and very properly spurn the insulting proposal. "Let the American States, said he, act in the same manner. We are bound to cherish the honor of our country which is now committed to our care. Nothing could dishonor the sovereign of Britain, that would not in equal circumstances dishonor us." In the conclusion of my speech, I said, "that our country was far from being in a condition to make it necessary for us to humble ourselves at the feet of Great Britain. We had lost a battle,

and a small island but the city and State of New York were still in possession of their independence. But suppose that State had been conquered, suppose half the States in the Union had been conquered—nay, suppose all the States in the Union except one had been conquered, still let not that one renounce her independence; but I will go further,—should this solitary State, the last repository of our freedom be invaded, let her not survive her precious birthright, but in yielding to superior force, let her last breath be spent in uttering the word *Independence.*" The speakers in favor of the motion were Ed. Rutledge, Thos. Lynch, John Stone, and several others. One of them in answer to the concluding sentence of my speech, said, "he would much rather live with *dependence,* than die with independence upon his lips." The motion was carried with some modification. The committee appointed to confer with Lord Howe were Dr. Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge. John Adams objected for a while to going upon this embassy, but was prevailed upon by the minority to consent to it. They met on Staten Island, but the conference ended in a discovery that Lord Howe had no power to grant us peace, upon any other condition than a rescinding the declaration of independence.

The issue of this negotiation demonstrated that the time in which the States declared themselves to be independent was the proper one. It prevented their dissolution after the defeat and the retreat of the American armies in the subsequent summer and autumn. It moreover produced a secession of Tories, and timid Whigs from the councils of the United States, and left the government of the country in the hands of men of fixed and determined principles and tempers. Maryland had yielded a little to the gloomy complexion of public affairs. She had instructed her delegates in Congress to vote for an accommodation with Great Britain *any measure* (meaning independence) to the contrary, and one of the delegates said to me in the street soon afterwards, that General Howe's proclamation

contained everything we could wish and that we ought now to submit to Great Britain.

In the debates upon the confederation of the States I took a part with those gentlemen who objected to the small States having an equal vote with the large ones, and urged the necessity of the States being represented according to numbers, in order to render liberty equal and durable in our country.

I spoke in several other debates upon questions of less magnitude than those which have been mentioned.

During my attendance in Congress in Philadelphia, I had the pleasure of being present at an interview between some Chiefs of the Six Nations and Congress in their hall in the State House. After a pause of ten minutes, one of the Chiefs rose from his seat and pointing to the sun said, "The business of this day will end well. Yonder sun rose bright this morning. The Great Spirit is propitious to us. Brothers, we received the commissioners you sent us, at the little council fire at Pittsburgh, we wiped the sweat from their bodies, we cleaned the dirt from their legs. We pulled the thorns from their feet. We took their staffs from their hands and placed them against the tree of peace. We took their belts from their waists, and afterwards conducted them to the seats of peace." In retiring all shook hands with every member of Congress.

It was while I was in Congress that I was sent for to visit a certain Captain, formerly Dr. Smith of the British army, who was confined in the new jail as a prisoner. His offence was an attempt to excite the Indians to make war upon the frontier settlements of our country. He was a good deal indisposed and wished very much to be liberated from jail upon parole. I honestly and frequently attempted to obtain this favor for him, but without success. The prejudices of the Congress were strong and nearly unanimous against him. I endeavoured to soothe him under his disappointment and to render his confinement as easy to him as possible until he was exchanged. I have introduced

these facts in order to contradict an assertion this man afterwards published in London respecting my conduct to him, in a work which he called travels through the United States of America. I recollect a Whig citizen who first shewed me his abuse of me in a New York paper in the coffee house, said "I was rightly served for I was always taking the part of Tory rascals."

After the retreat of the American army through New Jersey, Sir William Howe discovered a design to pursue them across the Delaware, and take possession of Philadelphia. Under an apprehension of this event, the Congress adjourned to meet in Baltimore in the State of Maryland.

Upon the motion for leaving Philadelphia, Samuel Adams (who seldom spoke in Congress) delivered a short but very animating speech. His feelings raised him frequently upon his toes at the close of his sentences. There was nothing very oratorical in his manner, but what he said infused a sudden vigor into the minds of every member of the house.

As soon as Congress adjourned I took measures to provide a safe retreat for my family at a relation's house, on the Susquehannah in Cecil county in Maryland. I took part of my furniture and all my books out of town and left them at the house of Philip Price near Derby. At this house Sir William Howe made his head-quarters in one of his excursions from Philadelphia; and on one of my mahogany tea tables he wrote his despatches to England, in which he gives an account of the events which closed the campaign of 1776. This table bears the marks of his ink to this day. My property received no other injury from him. Having left my family with my kinsman Col. Hall, I returned hastily to join the Philadelphia Militia who were ordered out to reinforce General Washington's army, and thus to prevent the reduction of our Capital. I was then resolved to stand or fall with my country. I accompanied my fellow citizens to Bristol where I remained for some

time, superintending their health and encouraging them to firmness and perseverance in defence of our liberties and independence.

In December I visited General Washington in company with Col. Jos. Reed at the General's quarters about 10 miles above Bristol, and four from the Delaware. I spent a night at a farm house near to him and the next morning passed near an hour with him in private. He appeared much depressed and lamented the ragged and dissolving state of his army in affecting terms. I gave him assurances of the disposition of Congress to support him, under his present difficulties and distresses.* While I was talking to him I observed him to play with his pen and ink upon several small pieces of paper. One of them by accident fell upon the floor near my feet. I was struck with the inscription upon it. It was "victory or death."

On the following evening I was ordered by General Cadwalader to attend the Militia at Dunks' ferry. An attempt was made to cross the Delaware at that place by General Cadwalader in order to co-operate with General Washington next morning, in an attack upon the Hessians who were cantoned in the villages on the Jersey side of the river. Great bodies of floating ice rendered the passage of the river impracticable. We returned to Bristol in a heavy snow storm in the middle of the night. The next morning we heard that General Washington had been more successful in crossing the river above Trenton, and that he had surprised and taken 1000 Hessians at that place. General Cadwalader followed him to the Jersey shore on the afternoon of the same day and slept at Burlington with his detachment the next night. The next day he marched to Bordentown and from thence to Crosswicks where he remained for two days. I had reason to believe here, that in my interview with General Washington he had probably been meditating upon his attack upon the Hessians at their

*See Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. 2, pages 527, 540, 557, 558 and other parts. Also Ramsay, Vol. 2, page 133–134, &c., &c.

posts on the Jersey side of the Delaware at the time of my interview with him, for I found that the countersign of his troops at the surprize of Trenton was, "Victory or Death."

While the Philadelphia Militia lay at Crosswicks, I rode to Trenton to spend a day with some of the officers of the regular army which still remained there. I alighted at General St. Clair's quarters where I dined and spent the afternoon with General Mercer and Col. Clement Biddle. It was a day which I have ever since remembered with pleasure. Col. Biddle gave me the details of the victory at Trenton a few days before. The two Generals, both Scotchmen, and men of highly cultivated minds, poured forth strains of noble sentiments in their conversation. General Mercer said "he would not be conquered, but that he would cross the mountains and live among the Indians rather than submit to the power of Great Britain in any of the civilized States." In the evening an account was received that the British Army then at Princeton intended to attack our posts at Trenton and Crosswicks. A council of war was held at Gen'l. Washington's quarters to determine what steps should be taken to oppose them. A division took place in the council upon the question, whether the troops at Crosswicks should be drawn to Trenton or left where they were to occasion a diversion of the British forces. Gen'l Knox proposed as I was connected with Gen'l Cadwalader's corps, I should be called into the council to give an opinion upon the question. I was accordingly sent for, and heard from Gen'l. Washington a brief state of the controversy. He then asked my advice. I said that I was not a judge of what was proper in the business before the council, but one thing I knew well, that all the Philadelphia militia would be very happy in being under his immediate command and that I was sure they would instantly obey a summons to join his troops at Trenton. After this information I retired, and in a few minutes I was called in again and requested by Gen'l. Washington to be the bearer of a letter to Gen'l Cadwalader. I readily consented and set off

for Crosswicks at ten o'clock accompanied by Wm. Hall, one of the Philadelphia troop of horse. The weather was damp and the roads muddy and the night extremely dark. When we came within a mile of Crosswicks we met Col. Delany who had the command of the patroles. He rode up to me and presenting a cocked pistol to my breast demanded who I was. I answered, "an old friend." "I don't know you, sir," said he, "tell me your name," still holding his pistol to my breast. I then told my name and my business. He ordered us to be conducted to Gen'l. Cadwalader's quarters, to whom in his bed I delivered Gen'l. Washington's letter. It was then about one o'clock. He instantly rose and set his brigade in motion. We reached Trenton about 7 o'clock in the morning. I went to Gen'l St. Clair's quarters and begged the favor of his bed for a few hours. Just as I began to sleep an alarm gun was fired at the General's door. I started up and the first creature I saw was a black woman crying and wringing her hands in my room. She was followed by General St. Clair with a composed countenance. I asked him what was the matter. He said the enemy were advancing, and "what do you intend to do," said I, "Why fight them," said he with a smile. He then took down his sword, and girded it upon his thigh, with a calmness such as I thought seldom took place at the expectation of a battle. I followed him out of the room and mounted my horse in order to join the Philadelphia Militia. I met them a little below Trenton, and rode slowly along with them towards the enemy. I asked one of them, John Chaloner, "how he felt." He answered, "as if I were going to sit down to a good breakfast." The greatest part of the day was spent by the troops under arms. In the afternoon a cannonade began in which several soldiers were wounded. All was now hurry, confusion and noise. General Washington and his aids rode by the Philadelphia Militia, in all the terrible aspect of war. General Mifflin in a blanket coat galloped at the head of a body of Pennsylvania Militia. He appeared to be all soul. I recollect the ardor with

which he called to them to quicken their steps. His command was not without effect. They ran after him. General Knox was active and composed. In passing me he cried out, "Your opinion last night was very fortunate for us—you have—" I shall not conclude the sentence, for a man deserves no credit for an accident in which neither design nor judgment are discovered. The cannonade continued between the two armies for several hours, towards evening a few platoons of musketry were fired. The American army retired and left the British in possession of Trenton. The scene which accompanied and followed this combat was new to me. The first wounded man that came off the field was a New England soldier. His right hand hung a little above his wrist by nothing but a piece of skin. It had been broken by a cannon ball. I took charge of him and directed him to a house on the river which had been appropriated for a hospital. In the evening all the wounded, about twenty in number, were brought to this hospital and dressed by Dr. Cochran, myself, and several young surgeons who acted under our direction. We all laid down on some straw in the same room with our wounded patients. I slept two or three hours. About four o'clock Dr. Cochran went up to Trenton to enquire for our army. He returned in haste and said they were not to be found. We now procured waggons, and after putting our patients in them directed that they should follow us to Bordentown, to which place we supposed our army had retreated. At this place we heard a firing, we were ignorant from whence it came, until next morning, when we heard that General Washington had met a part of the British army at Princeton on his way to the high lands of Morris county in New Jersey—through a circuitous route that had been pointed out to him the night before by Col. Jos. Read, and that he had defeated them. We set off immediately for Princeton, and near the town passed over the field of battle, still red in many places with human blood. We found a number of wounded officers and soldiers belonging to both armies.

Among the former was General Mercer, an American, and a Captain McPherson, a British officer. They were under the care of a British surgeon's mate, who committed them both to me. General Mercer had been wounded by a bayonet in his belly in several places, but he received a stroke with a butt of a musket on the side of his head, which put an end to his life a week after the battle. When I went into Captain McPherson's room, I was introduced to him by my name. "Are you Dr. Rush (said he) Captain Leslie's friend?" I told him I was. "Oh! sir (said he) he loved you like a brother." This amiable and accomplished young man, Captain Leslie, the second son of the Earl of Leven, fell in the battle near Princeton. His death had been announced to me the morning before by a prisoner who belonged to his company. I joined Captain McPherson who belonged to the 17th regiment with him in tributes of affection and praise to his memory. His body was thrown into his baggage waggon, and carried by the American army along with them. It was discovered at Pluckamin. In his pocket was found a letter from me, in which I had requested that if the fortune of war should throw him into the hands of the American army, to shew that letter to General Washington or General Lee, either of whom would I hoped indulge him in a parole, to visit Philadelphia where I begged he would make my house his home. This letter was carried to General Mifflin, who obtained an order in consequence of it to bury him with the honors of war, in the churchyard of Pluckamin. In the summer of 1777, I visited his grave, and plucked a blade of grass from it,* and at the end of the war placed a stone over it with an inscription designating his age, family, rank in the army, and the time and manner of his death.

Captain McPherson was wounded in the lungs. He recovered, in consequence of the loss of 140 ounces of blood.

* I informed his sister Lady Jane Belches of this act in a letter several years afterwards. In her answer to this letter she says, "Why did you not send me that blade of grass? I would have preserved its verdure forever with my tears."

Four British soldiers had their legs amputated by my order. They all recovered.

As soon as my wounded patients were out of danger, I set off to attend my duty in Congress. I passed a few days with my wife, at my kinsman's, Col. Hall's, on my way to Baltimore.

During the preceding Autumn I had joined Mr. Dickinson and several other of the most enlightened Whigs in Pennsylvania in a public testimony against the constitution that had been framed by the convention that met for that purpose in the Summer. This act had destroyed my popularity with the Assembly that had convened to legislate under that constitution. I remained in the Congress until their next meeting at which time I was left out of the delegation. I was not offended, nor mortified at this event, for I wished to hold a station for which I was better qualified and in which I could be more useful to my country. The American army had suffered greatly in the campaign of 1776, from the want of system and perhaps of knowledge in the management of the medical department. I wished to introduce order and economy into our hospitals, and for this purpose recommended the system which time and experience had proved to be a good one in the British army. Its principal merit and advantages consisted in the directing and purveying business being independent of each other. In vain did I plead publicly and privately for the adoption of this system. Such was the temper of Congress at that time that its British origin helped to produce its rejection. The system established by Congress placed the directing or supreme medical power, and the purveyorship in the same hands. I reluctantly accepted the commission of physician general of the military hospitals under it, and entered upon my duty with a heart devoted to the interests of my country. The evils of the system soon developed themselves. A fatal hospital fever was generated in the month of May in 1777 in the house of employment by our sick being too much crowded. Several

of the attending surgeons and mates died of it and most of them were infected with it. I called upon the Director and asked for more rooms for the sick. This was denied. Here was the beginning of sufferings and mortality in the American army which had nearly destroyed it. A physician who practices in a hospital or elsewhere should have no check upon his prescriptions. Air, water, fire and everything necessary to the relief or cure of the sick should be made to obey him. The reverse of this was the case in the military hospitals of the United States. No order was given or executed for food, medicines, liquors, or even apartments for the sick without the consent of the Director General. The warmth of summer lessened the evils which were experienced from the want of air in our hospitals, for it was easy to ventilate them by means of open doors and windows. I continued therefore to attend the sick during the summer months without complaining. I attended in the rear at the battle of Brandywine, and had nearly fallen in the hands of the enemy by my delay in helping off the wounded. A few days after the battle I went with several surgeons into the British camp with a flag from Gen'l. Washington to dress the wounded belonging to the American army who were left on the field of battle. Here I saw and was introduced to a number of British officers, several of them treating me with great politeness. I saw likewise within the British lines and conversed for some time with Jos. Galloway and several other American citizens who had joined the British army. While I was at my quarters I was waited upon by Col. Mawhood who said that he was deputed to convey to me the thanks of the officers of the 17th regiment for my care of Captain McPherson after the battle of Princeton.

I retired from the army and lived with my wife and one child at her Father's in Princeton. There I led an inactive and of course a disagreeable life. The village of Princeton afforded no prospects of business in my profession, and I had no desire by changing my place of residence, to enter

into country practice. In this situation I resolved to study the law and come forward to the bar in New Jersey. My Father-in-law highly approved of the proposal when I mentioned it to him and promised his influence to have me admitted to practice in a year or two years at farthest. My age, which was then 32, and the labor of acquiring a second profession did not discourage me from this undertaking. Just as I was preparing to begin my new studies, I heard that the British army was preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. This suspended my new enterprize. In a few weeks they left the city, and I returned to it with my family on the 21st of July. I now turned my back for a while upon public pursuits and devoted myself exclusively to the duties of my profession. From the filth left by the British army in all the streets, the city became sickly, and I was suddenly engaged in extensive and profitable business.

Before I proceed any further in the narrative of such of my transactions as were of a political nature, I shall give a short account of those gentlemen who were most conspicuous for their talents and virtues, or for the offices they filled between the years 1774 and 1778. I shall begin with the characters of the members of Congress who subscribed the declaration of independence. They were drawn during the war. Some additions have been made to them since, which were suggested by subsequent events.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett, a practitioner of physic, of excellent character and strongly attached to the liberties of his country.

William Whipple, an old sea captain, but liberal in his principles and manners, and a genuine friend to liberty and independence.

Matthew Thornton, a practitioner of physic, of Irish extraction. He abounded in anecdotes, and was for the

most part happy in the application of them. He was ignorant of the world, but was believed to be a sincere patriot and an honest man.

MASSACHUSETTS

John Hancock.—He was a man of plain understanding and good education. He was fond of the ceremonies of public life, but wanted industry and punctuality in business. His conversation was desultory, and his manners much influenced by frequent attacks of the gout which gave a hypochondriacal peevishness to his temper. With all these infirmities, he was a disinterested patriot, and made large sacrifices of an ample estate to the liberties and independence of his country.

Samuel Adams.—He was near sixty years of age when he took his seat in Congress, but possessed all the vigor of mind of a young man of five and twenty. He was a republican in principle and manners. He once acknowledged to me "that the independence of the United States upon Great Britain had been the first wish of his heart for seven years before the war." About the same time he said to me, "if it were revealed to him that 999 Americans out of 1000 would perish in a war for liberty, he would vote for that war, rather than see his country enslaved. The survivors in such a war, though few, (he said) would propagate a nation of freemen." He abhorred a standing army, and used to say they were the "shoe-blacks of society." He dreaded the undue influence of an individual in a republic, and once said to me; "Let us beware of continental and state great men." He loved simplicity and economy in the administration of government and despised the appeals which are made to the *eyes* and *ears* of the common people in order to govern them. He considered national happiness and the public patronage of religion as inseparably connected, and so great was his regard for public worship as the means of promoting religion, that he constantly attended divine service in the German Church in Yorktown

(while Congress sat there) when there was no service in their chapel, although he was ignorant of the German language. His morals were irreproachable, and even ambition and avarice the usual vices of politicians, seemed to have no place in his breast. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was active in preparing and doing business out of doors. In some parts of his conduct I have thought he discovered more of the prejudices of a Massachusetts man, than the liberal sentiments of a citizen of the United States. His abilities were considerable, and his knowledge extensive and correct upon revolutionary subjects, and both friends and enemies agree in viewing him as one of the most active instruments of the American Revolution.

John Adams.—He was a distant relation of Samuel Adams, but possessed another species of character. He had been educated a lawyer, and stood high in his profession in his native State. He was a most sensible and forcible speaker. Every member of Congress in 1776 acknowledged him to be the first man in the house. Dr. Brownson (of Georgia) used to say when he spoke, he fancied an angel was let down from heaven to illumine the Congress. He saw the whole of a subject at a single glance, and by a happy union of the powers of reasoning and persuasion often succeeded in carrying measures which were at first sight of an unpopular nature. His replies to reflections upon himself or upon the New England States were replete with the most poignant humour or satire. I sat next to him while Gen'l. Sullivan was delivering a request to Congress from Lord Howe for an interview with a committee of the house in their private capacities, after the defeat of the American Army on Long Island on the 26 of August 1776. Mr. Adams under a sudden impression and dread of the consequences of the measure, whispered to me a wish "that the first ball that had been fired on the day of the defeat of our Army had gone through his head." When he rose to speak against the proposed interview, he called Gen'l. Sullivan a "decoy duck whom Lord Howe has sent among us

to seduce us into a renunciation of our independence." In a debate in which Mr. —— criminated the New England troops as the principal cause of the failure of the expedition into Canada in 1775, he said, "the cause of the failure of that expedition was chiefly to be ascribed to the imprudence of the gentleman from Maryland who had fomented jealousies and quarrels between the troops from the New England and Southern States, in his visit to Canada, and (said Mr. Adams) if he were now penetrated, as he ought to be, with a sense of his improper and wicked conduct, he would fall down upon his knees, on this floor, and ask our forgiveness. He would afterwards retire with shame, and spend the remainder of his life in sackcloth and ashes, deploring the mischief he has done his country." He was equally fearless of men and of the consequences of a bold assertion of his opinions in *all* his speeches. Upon a motion in Congress Feb. 19th 1777 to surrender up to Gen'l. Washington the power of appointing his general officers, he said in opposition to it. "There are certain principles which follow us through life, and none more certainly than *the love of the first place.* We see it in the forms on which children sit at schools. It prevails equally to the latest period of life. I am sorry to see it prevail so little in this house. I have been distressed to see some of our members disposed to idolize the image which their own hands have molten. I speak here of the superstitious veneration which is paid to Gen'l. Washington. I honour him for his good qualities, but in this house I feel myself his superior. In private life I shall always acknowledge him to be mine." He wrote much as well as spoke often and copiously in favor of the liberties of his country. All his publications and particularly his letter to Mr. Wythe, containing a plan of a constitution for Virginia, discover a strong predilection for republican forms of government. To be safe, powerful and durable he always urged that they should be composed of three legislative branches, but that each of them should be the offspring directly or indirectly of the suffrages of the peo-

ple. So great was his disapprobation of a government composed of a single legislature, that he said to me upon reading the first constitution of Pennsylvania. "The people of your State will sooner or later fall upon their knees to the King of Great Britain to take them again under his protection to deliver them from the tyranny of their own government." I could mention many conversations with him in which he appeared to be actuated by the highest tone of a republican temper as well as principles. When Congress agreed to send commissioners to France and endeavour to make a treaty with her, I asked him at his lodgings what he thought of Mr. —— as a commissioner. "I would not vote for him (said he) above any man. He idolizes monarchy in his heart, and the first thing he would do when he arrived in France, would be to fall upon his knees and worship the King of France." The independence of the United States was first brought before the public mind in 1775 by a letter from him to one of his friends in Massachusetts that was intercepted and published in Boston in which he expressed a wish for that measure. It exposed him to the execrations of all the prudent and moderate people in America, insomuch that he was treated with neglect by many of his old friends. I saw this profound and enlightened patriot who in the year 1798 was admired and celebrated in prose and verse by the first citizens in Philadelphia, walk our streets alone after the publication of his intercepted letter in our newspapers in 1775 an object of nearly universal detestation. Events soon justified the wish contained in his letter, after which he rose in the public estimation, so as to become in the subsequent years of the revolution in some measure the oracle of the Whigs. He was a stranger to dissimulation, and appeared to be more jealous of his reputation for integrity, than for talents or knowledge. He was strictly moral and at all times respectful to religion. In speaking to me of the probable issue of the war, he said to me, in Baltimore in the winter of 1777; "We shall succeed in our struggle, provided we repent of our sins and forsake them,"

and then added, "I will see it out, or go to Heaven in its ruins." He possessed more learning probably, both ancient and modern, than any man who subscribed the declaration of independence. His reading was various. Even the old English poets were familiar to him. He once told me he had read all Bolingbroke's works with great attention. He admired nothing in them but the style, and to acquire it, he said he had when a young man, transcribed his "ideas of a patriot king." When he went to Holland to negotiate a treaty with that country, he left a blank in Congress. I can say but little of his public conduct while he was in Europe, but that he was able, faithful and successful in all the business that was committed to him.

I cannot conclude this account of Mr. Adams without expressing my obligations to him for the friendship with which he honoured me during the whole of his public life from 1774 to 1800. I possess a large collection of his letters written to me in Europe and America which I prize as records of his genius and patriotism. There was no diminution of our intimacy after he became President of United States, nor did his high stations preclude controversy between us, on subjects upon which we differed, especially while he was President. Many delightful evenings have I passed at his house, in listening to the details of his public situations at home and abroad, and to anecdotes of public men. The pleasure of these evenings was much enhanced by the society of Mrs. Adams, who in point of talents, knowledge, virtue and female accomplishments, was in every respect fitted to be the friend and companion of her husband in all his different and successive stations, of private citizen, member of Congress, foreign Minister, Vice President and President of the United States.

Robert Treat Paine.—He was educated a clergyman, and afterwards became a lawyer. He had a certain obliquity of understanding which prevented his seeing public objects in the same light in which they were seen by other people. He seldom proposed anything, but opposed nearly

every measure that was proposed by other people, and hence got the name of "the objection maker" in Congress. His temper was amiable, and his speeches and conversation often facetious. He was moderate in his feelings for his country. This was so much the case, that he told me the first time I saw him in 1774 that his constituents considered him as one of their "cool devils." He was notwithstanding a firm, decided and persevering patriot and eminently useful in Congress particularly upon committees, in which he was remarkable for his regular and punctual attendance.

Elbridge Gerry.—He was a respectable young merchant, of a liberal education and considerable knowledge. He had no local or State prejudices. Every part of his conduct in 1775 & 1776 and 1777 indicated him to be a sensible, upright man, and a genuine friend to republican forms of government.

RHODE ISLAND

William Ellery, a lawyer, somewhat cynical in his temper, but a faithful friend to the liberties of his country. He seldom spoke in Congress, but frequently amused himself in writing epigrams on the speakers which were generally witty and pertinent, and sometimes poetical. Mr. Paine had once given in a report in favor of purchasing some guns for the United States that were not bored. Some time after this, a motion was made to call upon the citizens of Philadelphia to furnish ready made clothes for the army, for materials to make them could not then be obtained in any of the stores. Mr. Paine opposed this motion, by holding up to the imagination the ridiculous figure our soldiers would make when paraded or marching in clothes of different lengths and colors. While he was speaking Mr. Ellery struck off with his pencil, the following lines.

"Say, O! my muse—Why all this puzzle
Talk against *long* clothes, and give guns without a muzzle."

Stephen Hopkins, a venerable old man of the Society of Friends, of an original understanding, extensive reading, and great integrity. He perfectly understood the principles of liberty and government and was warmly attached to the independence of his country. I once heard him say in 1776, "the liberties of America would be a cheap purchase with the loss of 100,000 lives!" He disliked hearing long letters read from the Generals of our Army, and used to say "he never knew a General Quillman that was good for anything." As the result of close observation, he remarked to me in walking home from Congress, that he "had never known a modest man that was not brave."

CONNECTICUT

Roger Shearman, a plain man of slender education. He taught himself mathematics, and afterwards acquired some property and a good deal of reputation by making almanacks. He was so regular in business, and so democratic in his principles that he was called by one of his friends "a republican machine." Patrick Henry asked him in 1774 why the people of Connecticut were more zealous in the cause of liberty than the people of the other States; he answered "because we have more to lose than any of them." "What is that," said Mr. Henry. "Our beloved charter," replied Mr. Shearman. He was not less distinguished for his piety, than his patriotism. He once objected to a motion for Congress sitting on Sunday upon an occasion which he thought did not require it, and gave as a reason for his objection a regard for the commands of his Maker. Upon hearing of the defeat of the American army on Long Island, where they were entrenched and fortified by a chain of hills, he said to me, in coming out of Congress, "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains."*

Samuel Huntingdon. A sensible, candid and worthy man, and wholly free from State prejudices.

* Jeremiah.

William Williams. A well meaning man but often misled by State prejudices.

Oliver Wolcott. A worthy man of great modesty, and sincerely attached to the interests of his country.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd, a mild and decided republican. He seldom spoke in Congress, but always voted with the zealous friends to liberty and independence.

Philip Livingston, a blunt but honest man. He was supposed to be unfriendly to the declaration of independence, when it took place, but he concurred afterwards in all the measures that were adopted to support it. He was very useful in committees where a knowledge in figures on commercial subjects was required. A secret of Congress having transpired, he proposed that every member of Congress should declare upon oath that he had not divulged it, in order that the rascal (to use his own words) "might add the sin of *perjury* to that of *treachery*, and thereby damn his soul forever."

Francis Lewis, a moderate Whig, but a very honest man, and very useful in executive business.

Lewis Morris, a cheerful, amiable man, and a most disinterested patriot. He had three sons at one time in the army, and suffered the loss of many thousand pounds by the depredations of the British army, upon his property near New York without repining. Every attachment of his heart yielded to his love of his country.

NEW JERSEY

Richard Stockton. An enlightened politician, and a correct and graceful speaker. He was timid where bold measures were required, but was at all times sincerely devoted to the liberties of his country. He loved law, and order, and once offended his constituents by opposing the

seizure of private property in an illegal manner by an officer of the army. He said after the treaty with France took place, "that the United States were placed in a more eligible situation by it, than they had been during their connection with Great Britain." His habits as a lawyer, and a Judge (which office he had filled under the British government) produced in him a respect for the British Constitution; but this did not lessen his attachment to the Independence of the United States.

John Witherspoon.—A well informed statesman, and remarkably luminous and correct in all his speeches. His influence was less than might have been expected from his abilities and knowledge owing in part to his ecclesiastical character. He was a zealous Whig, but free from the illiberality which sometimes accompanies zeal. In a report brought into Congress by a member from Virginia, George the 3d was called the "tyrant of Britain." Dr. Witherspoon objected to the word "tyrant," and moved to substitute king in its room. He gave as reasons for his objection, "That the epithet was both *false* and *undignified*. It was *false*, because George 3d was not a *tyrant* in Great Britain; on the contrary he was beloved and respected by his subjects in Great Britain, and perhaps the more, for making war upon us. It was *undignified*, because it did not become one sovereign power to abuse or use harsh epithets, when it spoke of another." The motion was negatived, and the amendment proposed by Dr. Witherspoon adopted.

Francis Hopkinson. An ingenious agreeable man. He took but a small part in the business of Congress, but served his country very essentially by many of his publications during the war.

John Hart. A plain, honest, well-meaning Jersey farmer, with but little education, but with good sense and virtue enough to discover the true interests of his country.

Abraham Clark, a sensible, but cynical man. He was uncommonly quick sighted in seeing the weakness and defects of public men and measures. He was attentive to

business, and excelled in drawing up reports and resolutions. He was said to study more to *please* the people than to promote their real and permanent interests. He was warmly attached to the liberties and independence of his country.

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert Morris. A bold, sensible, and agreeable speaker. His perceptions were quick and his judgments sound upon all subjects. He was opposed to the *time* (not the *act*) of the declaration of independence, but he yielded to no man in his exertions to support it, and a year after it took place, he publicly acknowledged on the floor of Congress, that he had been mistaken in his former opinion as to its *time*, and said that it would have been better for our country had it been declared *sooner*. He was candid and liberal in a debate, so as always to be respected by his opponents, and sometimes to offend the members of the party with whom he generally voted. By his extensive commercial knowledge and connections he rendered great services to his country in the beginning, and by the able manner in which he discharged the duties of financier, he revived and established her credit on the close of the revolution. In private life he was friendly, sincere, generous and charitable, but his peculiar manners deprived him of much of that popularity which usually follows great exploits of public and private virtue.

Benjamin Rush. He aimed well.*

Benjamin Franklin. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was useful in committees in which he was punctual and indefatigable. He was a firm republican, and treated kingly power at all times with ridicule and contempt. He early declared himself in favor of independence. John Adams used to say he was more of a philosopher than a politician. I sat next to him in Congress, when he was elected by the unanimous vote of every State in the Union to an embassy to the Court of France in the year 1776. When the vote was declared, I congratulated him upon it. He thanked me,

*Dr. Rush's estimate of himself.

and said, "I am like the remnant of a piece of unsaleable cloth. You may have it, as the shopkeepers say, for what you please." He was then 70 years of age. His services to his country in effecting the treaty with France were highly appreciated at the time that event took place. He was treated with great respect by the French Court. A letter from Paris written while he was there, contained the following expressions. "Dr. Franklin seldom goes to Court, when he does he says but little, but what he says, flies by the next post to every part of the kingdom."

John Morton. A plain farmer, but from his former station as a Judge, was well acquainted with the principles of government, and public business. His hatred to the new Constitution of Pennsylvania, and his anticipation of its evils were such, as to bring on a political hypochondriasis which it was said put an end to his life a year or two after the declaration of independence.

George Clymer. A cool, firm, consistent republican who loved liberty and government with an equal affection. Under the appearance of manners that were cold and indolent he concealed a mind that was always warm and active towards the interests of his country. He was well informed in history ancient and modern and frequently displayed flashes of wit and humor in conversation. His style in writing was simple, correct and sometimes eloquent. "The mould in which this man's mind was cast (to use the words of Lord Peterborough when speaking of Wm. Law) was seldom used."

James Smith, a pleasant, facetious lawyer. His speeches in Congress were in general declamatory, but from their humour, frequently entertaining.

George Taylor. A respectable country gentleman. Not active in Congress.

James Wilson. An eminent lawyer and a great and enlightened statesman. He had been educated for a clergyman in Scotland, and was a profound and accurate scholar. He spoke often in Congress, and his eloquence was of the

most commanding kind. He reasoned, declaimed and persuaded, according to circumstances, with equal effect. His mind while he spoke, was one blaze of light. Not a word ever fell from his lips out of *time*, or out of *place*, nor could a word be taken from or added to his speeches without injuring them. He rendered great and essential services to his country in every stage of the Revolution.

George Ross. A man of great wit, good humour and considerable eloquence. His manner in speaking was agreeable and commanded attention. He disliked business, and hence he possessed but little influence in Congress.

DELAWARE

Caesar Rodney. A plain man of good judgment and agreeable conversation; and sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country.

George Read. A lawyer of gentle manners and considerable talents and knowledge. He was firm, without violence, in all his purposes, and was much respected by all his acquaintances.

MARYLAND

Samuel Chase. This man's life and character was a good deal checkered. He rendered great services to his country, by awakening and directing the public spirit of his native State in the first years of the Revolution. He possessed more learning than knowledge, and more of both than judgment. His person and attitude in speaking were graceful and his elocution commanding, but his speeches were more oratorial than logical.

William Paca. A good tempered worthy man, with a sound understanding which he was too indolent to exercise; and hence his reputation in public life was less than his talents. He was beloved and respected by all who knew him, and considered at all times as a sincere patriot and honest man.

Thomas Stone. An able lawyer, and a friend to universal liberty. He spoke well, but was sometimes mistaken upon plain subjects. I once heard him say, "he had never known a single instance of a negro being contented in slavery."

Charles Carroll, an inflexible patriot, and an honest, independent friend to his country. He had been educated at St. Omer's, and professed considerable learning. He seldom spoke, but his speeches were sensible and correct, and delivered in an oratorial manner.

VIRGINIA

George Wythe. A profound lawyer, and able politician. He seldom spoke in Congress, but when he did, his speeches were sensible, correct and pertinent. I have seldom known a man possess more modesty, or a more dovelike simplicity and gentleness of manner. He lived many years after he left Congress, the pride and ornament of his native State.

Richard Henry Lee, a frequent, correct and pleasing speaker. He was very useful upon committees, and active in expediting business. He made the motion for the declaration of independence, and was ever afterwards one of its most zealous supporters.

Thomas Jefferson. He possessed a genius of the first order. It was universal in its objects. He was not less distinguished for his political, than his mathematical and philosophical knowledge. The objects of his benevolence were as extensive as those of his knowledge. He was not only the friend of his country, but of all nations and religions. While Congress were deliberating upon the measure of sending commissioners to France, I asked him, "What he thought of being one of them." He said, "he would go to hell to serve his country." He was afterwards elected a commissioner, but declined it at that time on account of the sickness of his wife. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was a member of all the important committees. He was the penman of the declaration of independence. He once

shewed me the original in his own handwriting. It contained a noble testimony against negro slavery which was struck out in its passage through Congress. He took notes of all the debates upon the declaration of independence and the first confederation.

Benjamin Harrison. He was well acquainted with the *forms* of public business. He had strong State prejudices and was very hostile to the leading characters from the New England States. In private life he preferred pleasure and convivial company to business of all kinds. His taste in this respect was discovered in a letter to Genl. Washington, which was intercepted and published in Boston. He was upon the whole a useful member of Congress, sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country.

Thomas Nelson. A respectable country gentleman, with excellent dispositions both in public and private life. He was educated in England. He informed me that he was the only person out of nine or ten Virginians that were sent with him to England for education that had taken a part in the American Revolution. The rest were all Tories.

Francis Lightfoot Lee. He was brother to Richard Henry Lee, but possessed I thought a more acute and correct mind. He often opposed his brother in a vote, but never spoke in Congress. I seldom knew him wrong eventually upon any question. Mr. Madison informed me that he had observed the same thing in many silent members of public bodies.

Carter Braxton. He was not deficient in political information, but was suspected of being less detached than he should be from his British prejudices. He was an agreeable and sensible speaker, and in private life an accomplished gentleman.

NORTH CAROLINA

Joseph Hewes, a plain, worthy merchant, and well acquainted with business. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was very useful upon committees.

William Hooper, a sensible, sprightly young lawyer and a rapid but correct speaker.

John Penn. A good humoured man, very talkative in company, but seldom spoke in Congress. He was honest, and warmly attached to the liberties of his country.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Edward Rutledge. A sensible young lawyer, of great volubility in speaking, and very useful in the business of Congress.

Thomas Heyward, Junr. A firm republican of good education and most amiable manners. He possessed an elegant poetical genius, which he sometimes exercised with success upon the various events of the war.

Thomas Lynch, Junr. A man of moderate talents, and not bold in difficult circumstances of his country.

Arthur Middleton. A man of cynical temper, but of upright intentions towards his country. He had been educated in England and was a critical Latin and Greek scholar. He read Horace and other classics during his recess from Congress. He spoke frequently, and always with asperity or personalities. He disliked business, and when put upon the committee of accounts he refused to serve, and gave as a reason for it that, "he hated accounts—that he did not even keep his own accounts, and that he knew nothing about them."

GEORGIA

Button Guinett. A zealous democrat. He carried a copy of the first constitution of Pennsylvania with him to Georgia, where he had address enough to get it adopted. He fell soon afterwards in a duel in that State.

Lyman Hall, a native of Connecticut, and strongly impressed with the principles and habits of republicanism which then prevailed in that State. He was a man of considerable learning, with an excellent judgment and very amiable manners.

George Walton. A sensible young man. He possessed knowledge and a pleasing manner of speaking. He was the youngest member of Congress being not quite three and twenty when he signed the declaration of independence. He filled the offices of Governor and Chief Justice for many years in Georgia, and evinced in his public conduct the same attachment to government and order that he had done in 1776 to liberty and independence.

The act for renouncing the allegiance to the King of Great Britain by the declaration of independence has ever been considered as a very bold one. It was done in the face of a powerful army, with but slender resources for war, and without any assurance of foreign aid. The first vote in favor of it was carried by the majority of a single State, which places it upon a footing with several of the first political events that have occurred in the world. The States that ripened most rapidly into a willingness to adopt the measure, were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia and Georgia. New Jersey and Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Delaware, Maryland and New York, followed in the order in which they have been named. I speak of the delegates of those States only, not of the people who composed them. Upon all great national questions the four Eastern States, Virginia and Georgia concurred in their votes. Thirty-four out of fifty-four of the men who signed the declaration of independence died before the year 1800.

I shall now mention some of the leading traits of the characters of several other persons, who were active in the first years of the American Revolution. What will be said of them shall be from personal knowledge and fellowship of labors with them.

John Dickinson. Few men wrote, spoke and acted more for their country from the year 1764 to the establishment of the federal government, than Mr. Dickinson. He was alike eloquent at the bar, in a popular assembly and in conversation. Count Winguiski a Polish nobleman who

travelled through the United States soon after the peace, said, "he was the most learned man he had met with in America." He possessed the air of a camp, and the ease of the court in his manners. He was opposed to the declaration of independence at the *time* it took place, but concurred in supporting it. During the war and for some years after it, he admired and preferred the British Constitution. Towards the close of his life, he became a decided and zealous republican.

Charles Thompson. A man of great learning and general knowledge, at all times a genuine republican, and in the evening of his life a sincere Christian. He was the intimate friend of John Dickinson. He was once told in my presence, that he ought to write a history of the revolution. "No (said he) I ought not, for I should contradict all the histories of the great events of the revolution, and shew by my account of *men, motives* and *measures*, that we are wholly indebted to the agency of Providence for its successful issue. Let the world admire the supposed wisdom and valor of our great men. Perhaps they may adopt the qualities that have been ascribed to them and thus good may be done. I shall not undeceive future generations."

Thomas Mifflin. Those who knew this man in the close of the revolution and in the evening of his life, will hardly believe, *what is strictly true,* that he possessed genius, knowledge, eloquence, patriotism, courage, self-government and an independent spirit, in the first years of the war. He was extremely useful in the gloomy winter of 1776 by rallying the drooping courage of the militia of his native State, which he did by riding through all the populous counties, and exhorting them to turn out to check the progress of the British army. His influence was much promoted by an elegant person, an animated countenance and popular manners. Had he fallen in battle in the year 1778, he would have ranked with Warren and the first patriots and heroes of the revolution.

General Charles Lee. His character was a medley of

opposite and contradictory qualities. He loved and admired public virtue, but was addicted to many private vices. He was obscene, profane and at all times impious in his conversation. His avarice discovered itself in every transaction of his life. He studied singularity and eccentricity in his dress, appetite, accommodations, style of writing, speaking and swearing. Even his Will partook of this weakness in his character. He had many successive intimates whom he called friends, but he appeared to have no affection for anything human. A troop of dogs which he permitted to follow him everywhere seemed to engross his whole heart. He despised prudence and used to call it a rascally virtue. With all these vices and oddities, he was sincere and no one ever detected him in a lie, or even in an equivocation. He likewise possessed courage which he evinced in many battles and duels in different parts of the world. His genius was considerable, and his attainments great in classical learning, and in modern languages. He was eloquent and at times witty and brilliant in conversation. He was useful in the beginning of the war, by inspiring our citizens with military ideas, and lessening in our soldiers their superstitious fear of the valor and discipline of the British Army. When he heard of the sentence of the court martial which suspended him from his command he said, "Oh! that I were a dog, that I might not call man my brother."

General Horatio Gates. Though born in England and educated in the British Army, he was a genuine republican, and a sincere friend to the independence of the United States. He was a correct officer, and not deficient in military skill. His conquest of Burgoyne ruined his character by exciting envy. His defeat at Camden gave more pleasure than pain to thousands—inasmuch as it brought him back to a level with his colleagues in war. His secretary said to me after that defeat, "that it was happy for him he had been unfortunate—for had he been again successful, he would have been crucified." He possessed some learning, a great deal of reading, and talents for extensive and accurate obser-

vation. His conversation abounded in anecdotes and was entertaining upon all subjects. He was accused of wishing to supplant General Washington, by aiming to place General Mifflin at the head of the army. From an intimate knowledge of him I believe that this charge was without foundation. He had many pertinent common sayings, which he applied to the affairs of the world. Two of them I recollect were, "Parties like armies receive all able-bodied men", and "The world will do its own business."

General Nathaniel Green. He was a pupil of Genl. Lee, and afterwards the privy counsellor of Genl. Washington. Genius supplied in him the place of a learned education. He was active and intelligent, but *thought* more than he *felt*, and hence he was said to be more qualified for the cabinet than the field. His temper was gentle, and his manners engaging. He was beloved and respected by all who knew him.

General Henry Knox. A brave and intelligent officer, and an open hearted, honest hearted man.

Lord Sterling. A learned sensible man, but somewhat vain and like Charles 2nd apt to tire his company by a repetition of the same stories. He was prudent and wise in council, and brave in the field. His manners were gentle and agreeable. His misfortunes before the war had led him to seek relief in toddy, with which he sometimes impaired his judgment. Congress honoured him with a vote of approbation and praise after his death.

General McDougall. Nature, and an application to books late in life did wonders for this man. He possessed genius, knowledge and uncommon fervor of mind tempered by a solid judgment. Genl. Lee used to say, he was the only cool headed enthusiast he had ever known in his life. He loved liberty above all things, but he was an enemy to mob governments. His person was dignified and his conversation sensible and methodical, but somewhat formal, produced by a slight stammering in his speech. He performed but few services to his country in the field, but

was extremely useful to her in the cabinet. His talents were less active, than contemplative, and judicial.

Commodore Jno. Paul Jones. He united in his military character the *boldness* which is produced by madness,—the *bravery* which is the effect of animal spirits—and the *courage*, which is the result of reflection. He once put into my hands a history of his naval exploits. He exulted in having first hoisted the American flag on board the first armed vessel that was commissioned by the United States. I heard him give a minute account of his engagement with the Serapis in a small circle at a dinner. It was delivered with great apparent modesty, and commanded the most respectful attention. Towards the close of the battle while his deck was swimming in blood, the Captain of the Serapis called him to strike. "No sir, said he,—I will not,—we have had but a small fight as yet." He had been well educated in Scotland (his native country) and discovered style and taste both in writing and conversation. His countenance was strongly marked with thought. I know nothing of his private character.

General Arnold. I lodged three weeks in the same family with this man in Philadelphia in the Spring of 1777. His person was low but well made, and his face handsome. His conversation was uninteresting, and sometimes indelicate. His language was ungrammatical and his pronunciation vulgar. I once heard him say, "his courage was acquired, and that he was a coward until he was fifteen years of age." His character in his native State, Connecticut, was never respectable, and hence its vote alone was withheld from him when he was created a General by the Congress of the United States. His public vices are recorded in the printed histories of the American revolution.

Soon after the British Army left Philadelphia an attempt was made by a number of citizens to alter and amend the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had been formed in haste. Those citizens united themselves into what they called a republican society. I became a member

of it. They were soon afterwards opposed by a numerous class of citizens who styled themselves constitutionalists, and who were attached to the constitution of the State. Their contest about the constitution soon ended, for it was supported by being exclusively in the hands of its friends, who did not see its defects or who were too much interested to acknowledge it required any amendment, especially at the time in which it was proposed. The government of the State, as was natural, where all legislative power is lodged in a single body of men, was administered in an arbitrary manner. Test, and other laws of an unconstitutional nature were passed, and even outrages upon the persons and property of peaceful citizens, contrary to law, were committed with impunity. These oppressions produced a contest for the power of the State which ended in a few years in the success of the party who had called themselves Republicans. By my activity in this struggle I made many enemies, and became the subject of much newspaper abuse. My labors were not lost. The light which was thrown upon the subject of government, by the controversy in which I bore a part, finally produced the present form of the constitution of Pennsylvania.

From this period until the year 1786 I passed my time chiefly in my professional studies and labors. The situation of the United States during this time was far from being an agreeable one. The weakness of the confederation, and the injustice of most of the States, in enforcing the circulation of paper money by tender laws, had limited the commerce of our country, and produced universal distress in our cities. In the year 1788 there were one thousand empty houses in Philadelphia. Bricklayers and house carpenters and all the mechanics and labourers who are dependent upon them were unemployed. The value of property in and near the city was two-thirds less than before the year 1774. Bankruptcies were numerous and beggars were to be seen at the doors of the opulent in every street of our city. Taxes were heavy and subscriptions for the relief

of the poor still more oppressive. In this melancholy state of our country it occurred to thinking men that all her evils originated in the weakness of the general government. These evils were pointed out in many publications, in all the States, and a convention was finally called to correct the defects of the confederation. While they were sitting in the year 1787, I received a letter from Mr. Dickinson who was a member of the convention calling me to come forward in support of the proposed Constitution of the United States. I had heard enough of its form and principles to be satisfied with it and readily obeyed the call of my friend by recommending and defending it in a number of addresses to the citizens of the United States. The zeal I had discovered in my publications and speeches at town meetings, induced the citizens of Philadelphia to elect me a member of the convention that met in Pennsylvania to adopt, or reject the proposed Constitution. It was adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the convention, but its execution was opposed by the minority, who dissented from its adoption. I continued to write in its favor until it was adopted by all the States. In this labor I was assisted and exceeded by Mr. Dickinson under the signature of Fabius, and by Tench Coxe under a variety of signatures. Their performances did equal honor to themselves and to the State of Pennsylvania. The opponents to the establishment of the Constitution, were the same men who had established and adhered to the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, and of course hostile to the men who wrote in defence of it.

I had resolved and repeatedly declared I would close my political labors with the establishment of a safe and efficient general government. I considered this as an act of consistency, for to assist in making a people free, without furnishing them with the means of preserving their freedom, would have been doing them more harm than good, and would have justly exposed me to their reproaches. I now realized my long contemplated purpose, and in the year 1789 took leave of political life, I hope, forever.

I review the time I spent in the service of my country with pleasure and pain. I derive *pleasure* from the recollection of the integrity of all my public pursuits. I sought no honors, and repeatedly refused the offer of profitable offices between the year 1774 and 1789. I befriended the persecuted and distressed enemies of the revolution, and rescued many of them from ruin and banishment by my influence with the governing powers. I obtained offices and favors for many hundred persons from the new governments of our country. But this constituted but a part of the pleasure I enjoyed in my political pursuits. I was animated constantly by a belief that I was acting for the benefit of the whole world, and of future ages, by assisting in the formation of new means of political order and general happiness. Whether my belief as far as it relates to the last great object will be realized, or not, is yet a secret in the womb of time. Late events have at times induced me to believe my hopes were visionary and my labors lost, and with them the more valuable labors of all the patriots and the blood of all the heroes of the revolution. At other times I have consoled myself by recollecting that the seeds of all the great changes, for the better, in the condition of mankind, have been sowed, years, and centuries before they came to pass. I still believe the American revolution to be big with important consequences to the world, and that the labor of no individual however feeble his contributions to it were, could not have been spared. It was said by the philanthropic Dr. Jebb, "that no good effort was lost." Still less can it be true, that the American revolution will be an abortive event in the government of the world.

I feel *pain* in a review of my political life, when I recollect the unfriendly influence which party spirit (the unavoidable concomitant of politics) had upon my moral and social feelings, and the controversies, and enmities to which it exposed me. In estimating the services of public men, let public gratitude swell to its highest pitch, when the diminution or loss of benevolent feelings and the pain of public

slander and private disputes are mentioned, property and even life itself are light as a feather when weighed in the opposite scale to them.

Having briefly stated many of the *literary, medical* and *political* events of my life, it remains only that I say a few words upon my *religious* principles.

Religious Convictions

I was baptized by the Rev. Eneas Ross, an Episcopal minister, and heard divine worship for the first time in Christ's Church in Philadelphia. After the death of my father, I went with my mother to the Rev. Mr. Tennent's meeting which was held in the building afterwards converted into a college and university in Fourth Street. My mother was a constant attendant upon his Presbyterian place of worship and educated her children in the principles taught by him which were highly Calvinistical.

At Dr. Finley's school, I was more fully instructed in those principles by means of the Westminster catechism. I retained them without any affection for them until about the year 1780. I then read for the first time Fletcher's controversy with the Calvinists, in favor of the universality of the atonement. This prepared my mind to admit the doctrine of universal salvation, which was then preached in our city by the Rev. Mr. Winchester. It embraced and reconciled my ancient Calvinistical and my newly adopted Arminian principles. From that time I have never doubted upon the subject of the salvation of all men. My conviction of the truth of this doctrine was derived from reading the works of Stonehouse, Seigvolk, White, Chauncey and Winchester, and afterwards from an attentive perusal of the Scriptures. I always admitted with each of those authors future punishment, and of long duration.

The early part of my life was spent in dissipation, folly, and in the practice of some of the vices to which young men are prone. The weight of that folly and those vices has been felt in my mind ever since. They have often been

deplored in tears and sighs before God. It was from a deep and affecting sense of one of them, that I was first led to seek the favor of God in his Son in the twenty-first year of my age. It was thus the woman of Samaria was brought to a repentance of all her sins by the Son of God reminding her of but *one* of them, viz.—her living criminally with a man who was not her husband.

The religious impressions that were made upon my mind at this time were far from issuing in a complete union to God by his Son Jesus Christ, but they left my mind more tender to sin of every kind, and begat in me constant desires for a new heart and a sense of God's mercy in the way of his gospel. Religious company now became most agreeable to me, and I delighted in public worship and particularly in hearing evangelical ministers of all denominations. I made conscience of secret prayer from that time, nor do I recollect to have passed a day without it, while in health to the present year 1800. But I am sorry to add my devotion was often a mere form, and carelessly and irreverently performed. I lost a great deal of spiritual sensibility while I was abroad. Travelling is unfavorable to the growth and even to the existence of religion in the soul. Thousands I believe have lost their all by it.

The scenes of my political life were likewise unfavorable to the divine life in my soul. Often, very often have I deplored them.

About the year 1786 I thought I felt some comfortable views of the love of God. My soul was drawn out to him, in constant aspirations. I now felt a strong desire to partake of the Lord's Supper. In consequence of my having renounced the Calvinistical opinions of the Presbyterians, I did not expect to be admitted to commune with them. I therefore submitted to confirmation with my dear wife in the month of February 1788 and a few days afterwards received the blessed signs of the death of Jesus Christ in St. Peter's Church. I was deeply impressed with this solemnity. In consequence of rising a night or two before and

going out too thinly clothed, I was attacked upon my return from church by a severe pleurisy, which had nearly put an end to my life. I realized death. My faith it is true, was weak, but my hopes in the mercy of God, in a Redeemer, were strong. It pleased God to restore me and for some time afterwards to continue upon my mind a considerable sense of divine things. In consequence of an alteration made in the forms of baptism and the communion service,—the former admitting infant regeneration, and the latter *favoring* transubstantiation, I declined after a year or two communing in the church, and had my children baptized by Presbyterian ministers. I still attended public worship in the Episcopal church, and occasionally in the Presbyterian churches; but alas! with coldness and formality. I was under the influence of an unholy temper and often wounded the peace of my mind by yielding to it. During the fever of 1793 my mind was strongly impressed with a sense of divine things. I was animated by a hope in God's mercy. the psalms were made comfortable to me. I read them every day. I lament that the good impressions I then felt soon wore away. To this the impatience I felt under the opposition and hostility of my medical brethren chiefly contributed. The gospel of Jesus Christ prescribes the wisest rules for just conduct in every situation in life. Happy they who are enabled to obey them in all situations!

Of the poor services I have rendered to any of my fellow creatures I shall say nothing. They were full of imperfections, and have no merit in the sight of God. I pray to have the sin that was mixed with them forgiven. My only hope of salvation is in the infinite and transcendent love of God manifested to the world by the death of his Son upon the cross. Nothing but his blood will wash away my sins. I rely exclusively upon it.—(Come Lord Jesus! come quickly! and take home thy lost, but redeemed creature! I will believe, I will hope in thy salvation! Amen and Amen!)

DOMESTIC EVENTS

I have taken notice of my marriage to Julia Stockton daughter of Richard Stockton, Esqr. of New Jersey, on the 11th of January 1775. She was then between sixteen and seventeen years of age. I was between thirty and thirty-one. The children of our marriage are recorded in two family bibles.

Let me here bear testimony to the worth of this excellent woman. She fulfilled every duty as a wife, mother and mistress with fidelity and integrity. To me she was always a sincere and honest friend. Had I yielded to her advice upon many occasions, I should have known less distress from various causes in my journey through life. I have endeavoured to reward and honor her in my will. May God reward and bless her with an easy and peaceful old age if she should survive me, and after death confer upon her *immediate* and eternal happiness!

On the 2nd of July, 1795, my dear mother died in the seventy-eighth year of her age. She had lived with me several years before her death, and was very useful in my family. Her company was at all times delightful, for she retained the vigor of her faculties to the last day of her life. Even her memory was not impaired. Two days after her death, I ventured my feelings in a letter to my good friend Mrs. Ferguson of which the following is a copy. It was dated July 4th, 1795. After mentioning her, I proceeded by informing her that her last words were, "Sweet Jesus!"*

I saw her draw her last breath and oh! my dear Madam, never did my heart swell with so many and such various emotions! Yesterday I went into her room, and took my last view of her beloved corpse. She was comely even in death. I fixed my eyes upon the seat of her heart,

*She retained her speech and senses until within a few minutes before her death. Two days before she died, she told me, "she had passed a sleepless and painful night, but that she had enjoyed sweet communion with God." A few hours before she died, she asked for me, I was then from home. When I came in she said, "let him come up; but I want to see nothing but my God."

and said, how much anguish has that heart known in the course of near eighty years. I thought of all the miseries it had felt in an unfortunate early marriage, which fortunately for her, terminated in three or four years by the extravagance and intemperance of her young husband. I thought of the anguish it had felt in being parted from my father who was the husband of her warmest affections, and who left her with but a small fortune, and six young children. I thought of all the anguish it had felt during the sixteen years she had been connected with her last husband, who was rough, unkind, and often abusive in his treatment of her. I thought above all of the solicitude she had a thousand times felt for each of her children while living, and of the grief she had felt for those she had lost by death. Her affection for the remainder of her children seemed to be as intense on her death bed as ever. Upon coming into her room a few weeks before she died, she took me by the hand and squeezed it and said, "I love to see you, my son. The very sound of your feet as you come up stairs is delightful to me." She once complained that she was very troublesome, and wished to be gone, that she might relieve us from the toils of nursing and attending her. Here I had an opportunity of doing justice to my feelings. "No, said I, my dear Madam—should you continue to lie on this bed, till you are an hundred years old, you will never tire my family. I shall cheerfully and thankfully nurse you here, if it were only for the pleasure of your conversation." Her affection for my dear Mrs. Rush and her great gratitude for her attention to her were frequently expressed. Upon a proposal being made if she recovered to live with my sister, she said, "don't speak of it, I will never leave Mrs. Rush."

She was buried by the side of my father in Christ Church grave yard agreeably to her request. "He was an angel (said she) to me in life. Let me lie by him in death." The sight of the grave and headstone of my father, while the grave was receiving the beloved dust of my mother, suggested many new ideas to my mind. He died July 26th,

1751. I fancied for a while, there was a dialogue between the long sleeping dust of my father, and the body of my mother. "Welcome, said the former, to this peaceful retreat of pain and trouble. Be not alarmed in descending into this earth. Jesus has once laid here and left behind him the perfume of his precious body." "Yes (I fancied I hear my dear mother reply) I come with joy to be reunited with the best of husbands in the grave. I have finished the work you assigned on your death bed. I have educated my children as you directed. Some of them went to rest before me. The survivors I hope will be prepared to follow us, and share with us in the blessings of that gospel in which I have instructed them, to all eternity."

August 2nd, 1798. This day heard of the death of my dear and only sister, Mrs. Rachel Montgomery. She lived and died at Harrisburgh in Pennsylvania. She was a truly excellent woman. I never saw her angry, nor heard her speak ill of any one. She died full of faith and hope of happiness beyond the grave.

DEATH

Dr. Rush died on the 19th of April, 1813. For the circumstances of his last illness we are indebted to the enlightened detail of Dr. Dorsey—"During the last year or two of his life a cough, which he familiarly called his *tussis senilis*, increased very considerably. Having in early life suffered severely from some pulmonary symptoms, which were thought to wear a consumptive aspect, he never believed that he should live to be old. After visiting his patients as usual, on Wednesday, the 14th of April, after tea, in the evening he was attacked with a violent chill, which was relieved by some brandy and water. In the night he awoke with a severe pain in the side attended with great difficulty in breathing. He sent for a bleeder and ordered him to take eight or ten ounces of blood from his arm. After losing the blood he was relieved and slept. A medical friend was requested to visit him the next morning; finding him weak and exhausted, he administered some wine-whey, which was evidently beneficial. His pulse however became gradually weaker and his symptoms soon assumed the prevailing *typhus diathesis*. Stimulating remedies were administered by his physicians to as great an extent as the stomach would bear, and external irritation kept up, but without effect.

About five in the afternoon of the 19th of April, perfectly rational and expecting, with the utmost composure, his approaching dissolution, he expired. "Let it also be recorded" are the words of Dr. David Hosack, "that the last act of Dr. Rush's life was an act of charity and that the last expression which fell from his lips was an injunction to his son 'Be indulgent to the poor.'"

PUBLIC NOTICE
of Dr. Rush's Death

April 20, 1813.

Died—about five o'clock yesterday afternoon, after a short illness, the great and good *Doctor* Benjamin Rush. The columns of a newspaper are not the place, nor our feeble pen the instrument, for commemorating the transcendent virtues, talents and usefulness of such a man. Biography and history will no doubt hereafter do them the justice they deserve. In the meanwhile it is the painful duty of every Press to contribute its transient notice of an event, which has deprived the country of a patriot, society of a most superior and fascinating member, and science of an illustrious ornament. It is true that threescore years and ten being accomplished, ought to teach us that much longer life could not be expected. But the loss is only the more irreparable, when age has matured and mellowed genius, without diminishing or blunting any of its inestimable faculties. Few men, if any, in this, or any other country, have so eminently combined public with professional services as Dr. Rush. From the time of his signing the Declaration of Independence to the last moment of his career, he has always displayed the first requisites for a great statesman: while his multiform works in medical science have been the almost annual productions of his knowledge in this department. Just as he had completed a great, original performance on the Diseases of the Mind, this great, original man has been suddenly withdrawn from this world. Such is mortality! As a father, a husband, a brother, a friend, a companion, a citizen, in every sphere of existence, his attributes were of the highest character, his loss leaves a chasm which time alone can fill.

PART II

Extracts From Dr. Rush's Commonplace Book

PART II

Notes

1792

March 1

Yesterday a vote passed the lower House of Assembly to allot $15,000 to build a mad-house. The idea of this building etc. originated last winter in a conversation with Bartholomew Wister in the Hospital and the public mind was first awakened to it by a short publication I threw out in Dunlap's paper. I mention this to encourage my boys to expect great things from slender beginnings and weak instruments.

March 20

This day was spent in debating about the establishment of free schools in our Legislature. I had great pleasure in living to see this event, for I had ten years ago and ever since inculcated the necessity and advantages of them from the press. On this day of triumph in seeing so great good accomplished, I met John Jones in the street, who told me that Governor Tom Mifflin had withheld a renewal of a commission I had held for ten years as one of the Inspectors of sickly vessels for the Port of Philadelphia. This was the only tie that any Government had upon my gratitude. It was worth only fifteen or twenty guineas a year. I felt no uneasiness from hearing that I was turned out of office. Some time ago I applied through Mr. Randolph to the President of the United States for the place of District Judge of Pennsylvania for my brother. This was refused. These are excellent lessons not to trust to the gratitude of our country for services to it.

1792

March 30

Spent a long and agreeable evening with Mr. Madison in his room at Mrs. House's. Our conversation was upon the evils introduced into our country by the funded debt of the United States and in praise of Republican governments. He said that he could at all times discover a sympathy between the speeches and the pockets of all those members of Congress who held Certificates.

The conversation during the month turned very much on the fall of the Funds from 25% to 20% occasioned by the failure of William Duer of New York. This man, it was said, aimed at monopolizing all the 6% (amounting to $17,000,000) of the United States and selling them afterwards to foreigners for 27s. or 30s. in the pound. In this attempt he contracted immense debts to merchants, tradesmen, draymen, widows, orphans, oystermen, market-women, churches, etc. He failed, it was said for two millions and a half of dollars, and so angry were his creditors that he was obliged to shelter himself from them by flying to a gaol. He ruined several brokers and injured many trading people by his failure. His failure was ascribed to all the banks ceasing to discount and calling in their credits. By these events a great and universal demand was created for money and many persons in New York and Philadelphia gave from 2% to 8% for temporary loans of money and some 1% per day to make good their engagements to the different banks. The spirit of speculation ran high during the whole of last winter, so as to destroy patriotism and friendship in many people. "Is it true," said a speculator to me, "that the President of the United States intends to resign?" "I do not know," said I, "but what makes you ask that question?" "A true answer," said he, "would determine me to buy in or sell out of the Funds." Two or three Expresses generally passed between New York and Philadelphia every twenty-four hours to convey the prices current of stock.

1792

March 31

Went this day with my wife and daughters to see a male lion twenty-five months' old, in Race Street. He was about two feet high, strong, active and fierce. He walked constantly around his cage. His keeper told me that he ate twelve pounds of flesh and drank three quarts of water every day; that he endured the cold of the last winter perfectly well; that he would play with a puppy but would always tear a dog to pieces.

April 14

Failures numerous in New York and Philadelphia. Mr. McComb a wreck in New York; once worth £100,000 sterling, failed this week. He was a man of excellent character. Ten of his own and five of his brother's children and a young wife with two children by a former husband shared with him in his calamity. Walt Livingston and many others followed him as bankrupts. Several happened this week in Philadelphia, as J. M. Taylor, Summers, etc. Duer's Notes for Certificates amounted to Thirty millions of dollars. It appears that he borrowed the Funds of a Lottery to build a bridge over the Raritan in New Jersey and seventy or eighty pounds of money raised by a charity sermon, both of which he had wasted. Thousands, it is said, will be injured and hundreds ruined by him. Certificates 19/6 half shares of National Bank Stock 15, Bills of Exchange on London 55 and 57½, so great is the scarcity of cash.

April 15

General Hull with General Hampton drank tea with me. The former is Agent to Congress for Massachusetts for obtaining justice to the late American officers and soldiers who sold their Certificates for 2/6 up to 5 shillings in the pound during the late war. May Heaven succeed his efforts.

April 18

Bankruptcies continue to increase in New York and Philadelphia. A gentleman just arrived from New York

says that he scarcely entered a house in which he did not find the woman in tears and the husband wringing his hands. Whippo, formerly an oysterman, had run away with $200,000 in banknotes. The Bank of New York observed that few of their old notes came in to them, owing, it was thought, to their being secreted by the bankrupts. Many of the brokers who have failed had bespoke carriages and some of them four horses. As yet I have heard of not one instance of insanity and only one of suicide, and he was a Frenchman who had lost by Duer's failure. Real property, which had risen 300% in some parts of our City, especially Market and Chestnut Streets, into the last of which the brokers crowded, suddenly fell to its former value. Two houses above Third Street in Chestnut Street belonging to Sam Pleasants were sold for $10,000 to two brokers. It was currently said that $2000 had been offered to Mr. Pleasants to take them back again. Chestnut Street was now called "Lame Duck Alley." Isaac Franks informed me that all the prices above 15 shillings in the pound for Certificates were produced by Notes from one broker to another, for that there was not money enough in the country to raise them above that price.

April 25

Private accounts still inform us that great distress prevails in New York. Men are often seen to weep in the streets. Fighting and boxing are common at the Coffee House. Two instances of the same kind have happened in Philadelphia. Only seven gentlemen and five ladies attended an Assembly in New York. Half shares, which were at par, have risen to 30% and 35% and 6 per cents. from 19% to 20%. This is supposed to be artificial. Scrip rose in the same way last summer and the South Sea Stock in 1720. The persons who had suffered took great pains to conceal their losses; some of them assumed an affected cheerfulness.

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April 26

This day a German physician, Dr. Seger, of South Carolina, introduced to me by Dr. Ramsay, dined with me. He lived five years in Charleston. When he went there, he said, his head was stuffed with morality and Christianity and that he could not bear to see a negro corrected, but that now he could bear to flay one of them alive.

May 1

This day Mr. Mecheaux, a French botanist, on a tour through the American woods, drank tea with me. He was recommended to me from Charleston by Mr. Bushe and Dr. Baron. He had spent fourteen months in Persia. He says he found the Triticum spelta, the Lucerne, and Clover wild in that country, also many fruits, but the peach never. He spoke highly of the fruits of that country, that they were very saccharine and nourishing. He said that he once ate 120 nectarines for a breakfast without being cloyed by them; that fruits composed a breakfast of rich and poor in Persia, rice, with a small quantity of meat, the dinner and supper. That the musk melons were preserved from September till May upon high and dry shelves and always retained a good deal of their flavor. This he ascribed to their being raised in a loose, sandy and dry soil, and to the great quantity of saccharine matter in them. That water was scarce in Persia and brought sixty leagues in some cases to supply their towns and gardens by means of aqueducts. That he once cut a grape in Persia that had neither seeds nor stones. That he brought the seed of a plum tree from Persia to Charleston which flourished there although no European plum had been known to thrive there. He said that the seeds of all plants declined the first but thrived the second year after being transplanted. That he once had a pleurisy in Persia from drinking sour milk when he was very warm. He said Chardin had published the best account of Persia. The fig and the grape, he said, never

rotted or became sour on the trees or after they fell, but dried, became candied and still retained their sweetness.

June 2

Met this day at Thomas Armat's with a Methodist Minister of the name of Glendenning, who had been insane for four years and a half, during all which time he said he was in a state of despair. That he felt all the bodily pains and mental anguish of the damned. That he slumbered only during this time; that he ate as usual but that his food had no relish. That he lost all his passions and appetites; that he loved and hated nobody. That he had a coldness in his extremities and a heat in the upper parts of his body. That he kept his hands in constant motion towards his head and thighs and arms, crying out at the same time "Oh, wretched man that I am, I am damned. Oh, I am damned everlastingly." During this time he lost all sense of years, months, weeks, days and even of morning and evening; time to him was no more.

June 18

This day I attended the funeral of William Gray's wife, a black woman, with about fifty more white persons and two Episcopal clergymen. The white attendants were chiefly the neighbors of the deceased. The sight was a new one in Philadelphia, for hitherto, a few cases excepted, the negroes alone attended each other's funerals. By this event it is to be hoped the partition wall which divided the blacks from the whites will be still further broken down and a way prepared for their union as brethren and members of one great family.

July 2

Dr. Gordon, of St. Croix, informed me at my table that the Indians in South America prevent the jawfull by the

1792

cold bath; that he cured only one-half the cases of tetanus that came under his notice, and that horses were very subject to this disorder from accidents and even from standing in the cool air after being heated.

July 16

Dr. Charles Brown, who was in General St. Clair's defeat on the fourth of November last, visited the ground in the winter. He says that all the dead bodies on the field had their eyes only eaten and one woman her breasts. The bodies which lay on the retreat had no flesh left on their bones and their bones were generally broken. He supposed that the buzzards had chased the wolves from the field and that the wolves had eaten those bodies only which fell in retreat. He saw one sapling which had twenty-seven balls through it. He slept one night on the field of battle.

Mrs. Ferguson informs me that a woman, Mrs. Knight, near Graeme Park, when pregnant, from seeing a person in fits, had a son who was convulsed, became an idiot, and died at eighteen. The day he was buried a Mrs. Lukins, who was just pregnant, saw his funeral and asked her husband whose it was. Her husband, Peter Lukins, told her it was Mrs. Knight's foolish son and described his person and manners to her accurately. Mrs. Lukins was much affected with the history and description of the lad and dreamed of him all night. Soon after she was delivered of a girl who grew up in every respect an idot like the boy who had been described to her, she is now alive and nineteen years of age.

July 16

Mr. Hart informs me that Judge Burke had assured him that he was made a Roman Catholic and a Deist nearly at the same time by two different priests in one of the colleges in France.

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July 18

Many people suppose that there is but one kind of snuff or cordial for the system, but there are many, as gaming, scandal, politics, war, obscenity, interest of money, good eating, etc. all of which invigorate the mind and body as much as snuff. General Putnam got great credit by killing a troublesome wolf in his neighborhood in New England. Every neighborhood has its destructive wolf; they are oppressors of the poor, whether lawyers or doctors, also trading justices, duellists, bruisers, epigrammatists and scurrilous writers in newspapers, gamesters, loungers, litigious persons, bad witnesses etc. There are a hundred substitutes for labor in every pursuit, every art and science is taught by plans made easy to the lowest capacity, every art too is carried on by methods to shorten and lessen labor. The business of eating is made easy, also of government by Secretaries reporting instead of Committees of Congress, of death by grapeshot, of midwifery by men practicing it instead of women, of rowing and navigation by steamboat, of land carriage by canals and turnpikes, of studying divinity by catechisms, law by compends, and physic by lectures, of fasting by physic, of riding by high carriages, etc. There is a propensity in all sciences to simplify themselves and to ascribe that to one which should be divided among many causes. For example, how few sects honor Father, Son and Holy Ghost in religion as they should do. The Socinians honor the Father only; the Catholics the Saviour chiefly, and the Quakers the Holy Spirit above both; how few include all the ends of our Saviour's death in their belief of the Atonement; each contends for one end only while six or seven other ends are clearly revealed in the Scriptures; many exalt one power or one set of powers only in the mind instead of all, many confine religion to one power only instead of applying it to all. The Episcopalians to the understanding, the Methodists to the passions and the Quakers the moral powers.

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July 21

Wesley forbids his preachers to affect to be or even to appear like gentlemen, and indeed when we consider how that word is abused in the world it is no wonder he gave such advice. A man who has been bred a gentleman cannot work, dig he cannot and he will not ask for charity, for to beg he is ashamed, and therefore he lives by borrowing without intending to pay, or upon the public or his friends. A gentleman cannot wait upon himself and therefore his hands and his legs are often as useless to him as if they were paralytic. If a merchant be a gentleman he would sooner lose fifty customers than be seen to carry a piece of goods across a street. If a doctor should chance to be a gentleman he would rather let a patient die than assist in giving him a glyster or in bleeding him; if a parson he loses all his zeal; if a tradesman should happen to be a gentleman he is undone forever,—by entertaining company, by a country-seat, or by wishing to secure the good-will and society of gentlemen by trusting them. In a word, to be a gentleman subjects one to the necessity of resenting injuries, fighting duels, and the like, and takes away all disgrace in swearing, getting drunk, running in debt, getting bastards, etc., it makes nothing infamous but giving or taking the lie, for however much gentlemen pretend to be men of their word they are the greatest liars in the world, they lie to their creditors, to their mistresses, to their fathers, or wives, or to the public.

The Indian savages oblige their women only to work; among civilized nations the women oblige the men only to work, the men among the former and the women among the latter consider the opposite sex made only to administer to their comfort without any co-operation on their part; both are wrong, men and women were made to work together in different ways.

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July 25

There is in every part of the natural world an accommodation of cause to effect analogous to stimulus to excitability in the animal body; the spring and winter come on gradually, the sun rises and sets gradually, manners operate gradually. The same remark applies to morals and religion, "No man putteth new wine into old bottles," the light of the gospel has risen gradually on the world. The Jews had precepts given to them which were not good before they could bear those which were good. Fontanelle says that if he were possessed of all the truths in the world he would impart them gradually. Endless punishment cannot be true for it is disproportioned to the force of the mind to conceive of it in the present state. The happiness of heaven is to be progressive, hence we read of the third heaven and of the heaven of heavens. A state of nature is said to be a state of war. A state of society or the civilized state is much more as far as strategems compose a part of the business of war. Courtship, trade, buying and selling, renting &c. are all carried on by strategems. A knowledge of the world seems to consist only in knowing how to effect or avoid imposition.

July 26

Mr. Hutson told me that the Rev. Mr. Venn used to say that he never was half an hour in Mr. Walker of Truro's company without discovering some new depravity in his heart, never half an hour in Mr. Wesley's company without being ashamed of his idleness, nor half an hour in Mr. Harvey's company without being ashamed of his want of love to Jesus Christ.

August 11

Charles Brown again informed me that the Indian men despise labor, particularly agriculture and horticulture. They have no objection to that work which they can do in sitting still. They hate the sight of a compass and call it a

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witch's wheel, they dread them when they meet with them and say that they steal their lands from them. They were very fond of opium and preferred our remedies to their own.

August 27

Mr. Beckly informed me that the President has complained to Mr. Jefferson that the Secretary of the Treasury advised or obtruded his view upon him in all his appointments, that the President was dissatisfied and talked of resigning, that a member of Congress had examined the Register's books and found twenty-six members of the House of Representatives and eight of the Senate certificate holders.

Sept. 11

Isaac Roberdeau who has been educated a sugar baker in England informed me that the purest sugar was made at St. Kitts, the next at Jamaica, next at Barbados, and the worst at Antigua. He once found two feet of earth in a hogshead of sugar, and in general he says that the impure sugar contains from 1/15 to 1/20 of dirt.

Nov. 15

Mr. Jefferson informed me that a French physician who had practised physic sixty years in Paris had declared that he had never been called up in the night except to persons who had supped.

Dec. 15

Mr. Mecheaux, a French botanist, drank tea with me. He had just returned from a journey of 650 leagues beyond and 150 leagues to the north of Quebec in search of plants. He found there many of the plants of similar latitudes in Europe among others the Labrador Tea. He says that the scattered French people whom he found in that cold country had coarse skins from scorbutic complaints. They lived

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chiefly on salt meat and seals; their blood when effused had a color blacker than natural. The Indians who eat wild fruits plentifully escape the scurvy.

1793

In a conversation with Mr. Jefferson he said that at Milan and in many other parts of Italy there were two languages spoken, the polite Italian among people of fashion, and the vulgar Italian which was scarcely intelligible. He said the French language improved in softness as you travelled south from Paris. In Provence the words terminated in vowels, for example mere, mother, was mero. He said it was suspected that the British Ministry had indirectly bought Dr. Franklin's works through the medium of a bookseller, and to this was ascribed the delay in their publication. The whole of Mr. Jefferson's conversation on all subjects is instructive; he is wise without formality, and maintains a consequence without pomp or distance.

Jany. 8

I waited on Mr. Blanchard and requested him to examine the state of his pulse in his aerial voyage which he was to undertake the next day. He promised to do so and accepted of the use of my pulse glass for the purpose.

Jany. 9

This morning at ten o'clock I saw Mr. Blanchard ascend from the prison yard. The sight was truly sublime on his first appearance above the wall there was an universal cry of "Oh, oh, good voyage!" &c. from several thousand spectators, many of whom had come from New York, Baltimore and other distant parts to see it. The city was so crowded that it was difficult for strangers to get lodgings at taverns, and the theatre was so crowded this evening that several hundred people returned without getting in.

1793

Jany. 24

Mr. Blanchard drank tea with me. He said that he once ascended six miles, that blood came into his mouth; that the sleepiness he felt when he ascended was owing to the lightness and not the coldness of the air; that his thirst was intolerable in one of his ascensions and that he had relieved it by receiving into his hat the drops of a cloud which collected and descended on his balloon into his car; that the pleasure of sailing in the air was very great; that the degrees in Fahrenheit once fell to forty degrees below zero in one of his flights and that his ink froze suddenly.

April 17

Dr. Van Rohr informed me that the accounts of the efficacy of the lizard in curing leprosy in Spain were true; that the lizard fed on a poisonous spider called Rana Avicularis and that the flesh of the lizard when eaten operated on the kidneys and pores and sometimes on the stomach and bowels very powerfully. The Doctor had lived nearly forty years in the West Indies, chiefly in St. Croix, and had visited South America at the expense of the King of Denmark in quest of natural knowledge. He was a German by birth, very learned and sensible, aged fifty-nine. He spoke highly of the intellect and moral faculties of the negro. A black man travelled with him who was his intelligencer in every strange place that he visited. He was, he said, a botanist and a philosopher. He had been taught morality by his father by means of fables, many of which the Doctor said were original and truly sublime. He gave the Doctor such an account of plants in Africa as enabled him to class them by Linnaeus and he satisfied him that the Monoceros or Unicorn existed in Africa, also many other nondescript animals. The Doctor was on his way by order of the King of Denmark to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa in the latitude of five degrees in order to introduce civilization among the Africans. He spoke in high terms of Fred-

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erick, the Prince of Denmark. That his salary was Thirty thousand dollars and that he gave away Twenty-seven thousand dollars to public uses. That he visited the free schools of Copenhagen and even attended to the healthy structure of the school houses. One of the former Kings of Denmark, the Doctor said, had declared that if men knew the weight of a crown as well as he did they would not pick it up in the street.

August 7

The Surgeon of the Il Constante, a large India ship, informed me that out of seventy sailors there had been no death in two years, four months of which they spent in China, where three or four of them had the flux. At sea they were kept clean and drank every day sugar and water mixed, they used wine only after fatigue.

August 22

Attended a dinner a mile below the town in Second Street to celebrate the raising of the roof of the African Church. About one hundred white persons, chiefly carpenters, dined at one table, who were waited upon by Africans. Afterwards about fifty black people sat down at the same table, who were waited upon by white people. Never did I see people more happy, some of them shed tears of joy. An old black man took Mr. Nicholson by the hand and said to him, "May you live long and when you die may you not die eternally." I gave them two toasts, viz. "Peace on earth and good-will to man", and "May African Churches everywhere soon succeed African bondage." The last was received with three cheers.

1794

Dr. Johnson, who had lived fourteen years in the East Indies, drank tea with me this afternoon and gave me the following information. That the influence of the moon was perceptible at its full and change 2000 miles from the tides.

1794

He confirmed Dr. Balfour's facts that he never had better health than while he lived among the Bramins wholly on vegetables for five years; that he drank no wine during this time but that all his vegetables were well spiced. Quaere. Do the spices fortify the alimentary canal chiefly? That he often drank a pleasant emulsion made from poppies. During this time he lived in a sickly country but was always healthy and his faculties uncommonly clear. That the Arabs feed their horses with the roots of grass which are more nourishing than the blades. That the Bramins complain of the breath of the Europeans who live on animal food being offensive. That the Europeans in the East Indies are great eaters. That a colony of Persians who expose the bodies of their dead at Sourat to the Sun their god, are not affected by their putrefaction. That he had lain eight hours in an earth bath and found it very comfortable. That Dr. Graham recommends it for rheumatism, stiff joints and sores of all kinds. The earth should be well dried and crumbled a day or two before by the sun. That the Arabs cure stumbling in a horse by blindfolding him, which makes him lift his legs. Mr. Irvine added that blindfolding a horse tamed him by producing fear. Mr. Priestly said a man in England tamed wild horses by keeping them awake all night; he stayed in the stable with them. Dr. Johnson also said, a few days afterwards, that a person with red hair, as Danes and other Northern men, by marrying East India women had children like the Europeans but no other European had such children by such marriages.

June 4

Dr. Priestly landed at New York. June 18th came to Philadelphia. On the 19th I waited on him and spent about half an hour in his company. He related many instances of the persecuting conduct of the Church and Court towards him. One was that Dr. Parr, an Episcopal Minister, for having only written a few lines in his favor was threatened

with having his house destroyed and was forced to remove his library consisting of 6000 volumes to Oxford for safety.

June 30

Visited the new jail with Caleb Lownes. The prisoners about fifty from the whole State convicted on light offences, the same pains taken now to convict as formerly to acquit. All busy and working at, first, carving marble, second, grinding plaster of Paris, third, weaving, fourth, shoemaking, fifth, tailoring, sixth, spinning, seventh, turning, eighth, cutting or chipping logwood.

July 3

Dr. Priestly dined with me. His conversation was highly instructive. He said that he had been very intimate with Dr. Franklin and that from his often saying he should like to peep out of his grave a hundred years hence he concluded that he did not believe in a future state. He said that he had made many Deists. He acknowledged a belief only in a being of God and a particular Providence. He spoke with great respect of Dr. Price but said that he viewed the doctrine of philosohpical necessity with horror. He inclined towards the close of his life to the doctrine of final restitution instead of annihilation. I often accused Dr. Priestly of changing his opinion on that subject, for the Doctor inclined in his conversation with me to the annihilation of the wicked from the analogy of some plants and animals which have perished forever on our globe. He spoke in high terms of Republican principles. He said that laws or opinions governed in France and not men. This was proved by the same measures going on after the death or flight of so many of their leading characters. He praised the discipline of our jail and said that gentleness reformed all wild animals as well as man. This he instanced in Mr. Bickwell, who cured the most vicious horses in one night by tickling them about their ears.

1794

Sept. 20

A young German physician informed me that eighty-six physicians and surgeons had died with camp diseases in the Austrian Army since the commencement of the war with France.

December 28

Met Dr. Helmuth going into St. Michael's Church in Fifth Street and condoled with him on the burning of his Church on the evening of December 26th. He said that it belonged to this world and that he hoped it would be the means of building up the invisible Church of Christ. I saw him again on the evening of the same day, when he said, that the loss of the Church had much affected his congregation, and that, if it proved the means of converting only one of their souls, it would be purchased at a cheap rate. He added that the morning collection, which in the burnt church amounted in general to only about £s 4/10, had that day amounted to about £s 32.

1795

April 9

This day Tench Coxe called upon me to know whether I would accept the Directorship of the Mint with a salary of $750 a year in the room of David Rittenhouse, who was about to resign. I declined the offer on the steps at my door without deliberating for one moment upon it. I objected to it, first, because it would expose me to the calumnies of my brethren, who would say it interfered with my business; secondly, because my business was more profitable to me than three times the value of the office; thirdly, because it would prevent my introducing my son into business by withdrawing me from it, and fourthly, because I had devoted myself to the establishment of a new system of physic. I had secret objections to it which I did not mention. Never did any man feel more pleasure in receiving an office than I did in declining the above offer.

1795

August 23

This evening, Sunday, died my excellent friend William Bradford, Esquire. Never did I labor more to save a life. He objected to being bled till the fifth day of a malignant fever, in which time effusion probably took place in his brain. He expected his death and often spoke of it. He bequeathed me on his deathbed One thousand dollars, the interest of which was to be applied during my life to charitable purposes and at my death to be bequeathed by me to charitable uses or to my own children. See his character written and published by me. His death cut a sinew in my heart. I loved him tenderly.

Sept. 21

Dr. Blythe, of Georgetown, South Carolina, breakfasted with me. He had just returned from the Sweet Springs in Virginia. He said the heat of the water was between 60 and 70 degrees; that the country around it was uncommonly cool but fruitful; that the water was disagreeable at first to the taste, but that after a while it became very agreeable and that he became more attached to it than to tobacco; some people drank ten gallons of it in a day.

Sept. 25

This morning died my much beloved pupil, Gilbert Watson. He contracted his sickness by nursing Dr. Jardine's family on the Delaware above Bristol. His fever became fatal, I believed, from the neglect of bleeding in one paroxysm of his fever. He had excellent talents, great industry and uncommon sensibility to the distresses of sick people.

Sept. 29

Mr. Stewart informed me that in the Eastern countries, especially Smyrna, when the plague raged, the provident people kept a tub of water at their doors and washed everything in it that came into their houses except bread and

1795

vegetables. A man once caught the plague by touching the string of the latch of his door which had been touched by a person infected with it.

October 8

He says the Turks had no fear of the plague, they dreaded evil only when present; they had no fear of artillery because they did not see it.

1796

The city was much agitated, not divided, on the subject of the President of the United States refusing to deliver up the papers relative to the Treaty with Great Britain. Sixty-two members of the House of Representatives voted for it and thirty-seven against it. The President acted afterwards in the execution of the Treaty, which gave great offence.

April 22

Mrs. Duché told me this day that her mother had long objected to living with her "because she was afraid her love for her children would lessen her communion with God which she enjoyed in her own house and alone." She concealed this reason for living by herself until yesterday, even from her daughter Mrs. Duché.

June 27

This morning died, aged about sixty-four, David Rittenhouse, a man of immense genius, universal in its objects, modest, amiable, just, a friend to liberty, a true Republican, beloved and admired by all who knew him.

July 27

Mrs. Mease told me when dying that among other sins she had to repent of,—one was, too much confidence in my remedies.

1796

July 30

Mrs. Rittenhouse told me that when she felt a disposition to be angry, she went to the Observatory where her husband was buried, which composed her.

August 26

This day gave two dollars to the keeper of the new jail to buy watermelons for the prisoners and accompanied it with the following note: "A citizen of Philadelphia requests the prisoners in the new jail to accept of some watermelons. He requests no other return for this small present than that they should consider that God by disposing the heart of one of his creatures to show them an act of kindness is still their Father and their Friend."

Dec. 24

Heard the Rev. Dr. Coke preach in the African Methodist Church. He said there were 167,000 adults in their Society all over the world, 10,000 blacks in the West Indies and 300 on the coast of Africa.

Dec. 25

This day sent the following note to the prisoners in the jail: "Peter Brown, Robert Wharton, Mrs. Susannah Bradford and Dr. Rush request the prisoners in the new jail under sentence of confinement and labor to accept of a dinner on turkeys as a proof that they are still remembered in their present suffering condition by some of their fellow-creatures. They hope they will be led by this small present on this anniversary day of the birth of their Saviour to consider the infinite love of God to their souls in sending his Son into the world to redeem them from all evil and to introduce them when penitent into a state of everlasting rest and happiness."

Dec. 26

Attended a baptism of two children of Mr. McConnel by the Rev. Dr. Blair. The one was called Juliana and the

1796

other Benjamin Rush. During the whole of December this winter distress from the effects of speculation continue to pervade our City. The jail was crowded with persons sent there for debt. The notes of persons of the first credit formerly were protested and laid over in the banks.

Dec. 27

Dined this day at Richard Allen's with Dr. Coke and seven other Methodist Ministers. My son Richard was with me. Dr. Coke told me that he had been educated at Oxford; had been a Deist, afterwards a Minister of the Church of England before he joined the Methodists. He said he was a miracle of grace. His conversation was agreeable and his manners those of a gentleman. His person was very small.

Dec. 29

Saw a dwarf born in Massachusetts of parents of the common size. He was seven years old, twenty-six inches high, weighed twelve pounds and up, was sprightly and in good health. His name was Calvin Phillips.

December

This month great distress pervaded our city from failures, etc., one hundred and fifty, it is said, occurred in six weeks, and sixty-seven people went to jail to come out by the Act of Insolvency in two weeks. Morris and Nicholson, said to amount to Ten millions of dollars, were currently sold for 2/6 in the pound, 30% per annum was given for money. Hundreds drew their money in from banks, and common interest, to lend it by the hands of brokers at that usurious interest, all of whom suffered more or less by the failure. A spirit of speculation infected all ranks.

Jany. 27 **1797**

I was called this morning to see Mr. Brown who had been much burnt in attempting to rescue his wife and three

children all of whom had just before perished by fire. His situation was awful. His constant cry was: "Oh, Death! death! death! Oh, Jehovah! Jehovah! Jehovah! Water! water! water!" After exhibiting signs of recovery he was told of the fate of his family. In half an hour afterwards he lost his reason and so continued till he died, which was on the fourth of February. The next day Dr. Magan preached a funeral sermon on the occasion to a crowded audience in St. Paul's Church. About a month before this catastrophe I called at Mr. Brown's house and found him in a serious conversation with his children. He told me he had been speaking to them about the danger of a fire and that they ought to be good in order to prevent their sharing the fate of many people who had suffered from fire during the winter.

March 21

This day died my excellent friend Mrs. Duché. I visited her mother, Mrs. Hopkinson, whom I found composed and resigned. She spoke of the deaths of her son Judge Hopkinson and of her daughter Mrs. Morgan, and said, "I must be a crooked stick to require so much affliction to straighten me." She said her daughter Mrs. Duché never went to bed without coming into her bed room to see if she was comfortably lodged in bed, and never bid her goodnight without putting her arms around her neck and kissing her.

March 22

Dr. Priestley informed me that he knew a Mr. Clayton, a Minister formerly of Liverpool, whose pulse was always at 100 and 120. After an attack of a fever it became natural and he lost all his hair. On the same day Judge Turner informed me that in the new country in the Northwest Territory the flowers grow in tribes of one color and that the medicinal plants generally had blue flowers.

July 14

Went to see a learned pig. He was a year old, was

1797

about one-half a foot high and had cost the owner One thousand dollars. He distinguished all the letters in the alphabet on cards and picked them up with his mouth. He spelled every word that was told him by bringing the letters of which those words were composed and laying them at his owner's feet. He did several small sums in addition, subtraction and multiplication. He distinguished colors, and lastly he told the name of the card taken out of a pack by taking up with his mouth the corresponding card from a pack on the floor.

November

Dr. Pinkard, Physician to the British Troops in the West Indies, informed me that seventy-five medical men belonging to the British Army had lately died there in one year of the yellow fever. Mr. Young, the bookseller, informed me that three things distressed him during the prevalence of the yellow fever in 1797, namely, the poverty and distress of the citizens; the dissensions of the physicians over open graves, and the repeated demands that were made of him for playing cards.

Dec. 17

Mr. William Russell told me that Dr. Elisha Hall of Fredericktown, kept two cows and two horses on the cuttings of one quarter of an acre of Lucerne and one-quarter of an acre of Clover during the summer. He cut the Lucerne eight times in the course of the summer.

1798

Jany. 2

This day died my good friend, the Rev. Jacob Duché, in his sixty-second year. He had once been Rector of Christ and St. Peter's Church. Was a pleasing speaker, his voice was musical and his action very graceful. His sermons were elegant but declamatory and never profound. Dr.

1798

Smith, his Preceptor, said of him that he had never known a man before him that was the same at thirty-six that he was at eighteen years of age. He changed his religious opinions often, having been an Arminian, a Mystic, and finally died a Disciple of Swedenborg. He was, under all these changes, truly amiable, pious and just. He was much disordered in the evening of his life with a tendency to palsy and with hysteria; he sometimes laughed and cried alternately all day; his disposition to laughter was natural to him, so much so that he was obliged when a young man to pinch himself in the pulpit to prevent his laughing when he was preaching. He left Philadelphia with the British Army in 1778 in consequence of his writing a letter to General Washington to negotiate for America at the head of army. He returned to Philadelphia about five years ago and was kindly received by all his old friends.

Jany. 12

Mr. Wells, the interpreter of Little Turtle the Chief of Miami Tribe, who commanded in the defeat of General St. Clair and whom I had inoculated, informed me that the Miami tribe of Indians worshiped a Good Spirit, and that they offered sacrifices of a deer's heart when they went to battle.

Jany. 29

Introduced my son James to Little Turtle. He gave him a name. It was Wapemongua, which signifies a fishing bird called a White Loon. It was the name of his sister's son whom he had adopted. Introduced Dr. Pinkard to Mr. Jefferson. He said he was at a loss to know whether a horse, a deer or a hare was the most timid animal. That the sudden rising of the water in a rivulet that had been dry and the roaring of the mountains in Virginia indicated rain. That Mr. Walker, an old Doctor in Virginia, had told him that soldiers in a war that he had been in sometimes cut

1798

steaks out of the flesh of the cattle as described by Bruce, and afterwards drove them along the road. Dined with a Dr. Dawson, a Scotchman who had lived forty years in Tortola. The population of that Island he said was twenty-five hundred whites and nine thousand blacks. They had one Episcopal Minister and two Methodists. The yellow fever, he said, broke out now and then in their low lands and was cured by carrying patients to their mountains in the height of the fever. The pure air produced an intermission generally in twelve hours.

March 3

Mr. Law, son of the late Bishop of Carlisle, told me that in Calcutta the hills were sickly and the valleys healthy and that the British troops were changed every month from one to the other to prevent their becoming sickly.

July

This month I was frequently visited by Dr. Scandella, an ingenious native of Venice, he was learned and very instructing in his conversation. On his passage to America he amused himself by calculating how much the population and prosperity of the country might be promoted by the timber of the frigate he came in being employed in building farm houses; by its guns, thirty-six in number, being made into implements of husbandry; and the crew, two hundred and forty, being employed with their wives in agriculture.

July 26

John Duffield informed me that his son, aged twenty-four, was the only survivor of a class of fifteen boys who were at school with him.

August 3

Met Samuel Emlen this day in the street.

August 21

Mr. Liston told me he was in Constantinople when eight hundred died in a day of the plague, that it was not

always alike mortal, sometimes only one in fifty, sometimes one in twenty-five, sometimes one in five and sometimes two out of three. He said it was spread by dogs and cats and once by a child touching a fur cloak of her father, who was a physician, and who had just returned from visiting patients in the plague district. He said in walking the streets of Constantinople he had two Janissaries allowed him who went before him to clear the way to prevent his touching anybody infested with the plague. In travelling through Turkey, his servants who were Turks, wished to put up in houses infected with the plague, which Mr. Liston prevented. The servants were offended and said that Mr. Liston had no religion. He told me at the same time that General Washington was the only man he ever knew in public life who gave no answer to a question of any kind that he did not chose to resolve. He said during the five days he was at his house he observed him to be passionate with his servants and imposed upon by his overseer.

December 7

Mr. Young informed me that of the two men whom I attended at his house in the yellow fever one had contracted a love of spirituous liquors since I had cured him, the other was cured of it.

Dec. 7

Met the Rev. Mr. Jno. Murray at the President of the United States. He said a clergyman once came to hear him preach on Universal Salvation. He said afterwards, "his doctrine was rational, but not Scriptural." "A more severe thing (said Mr. M.) could not be said of the Bible."

Dec. 15

Heard the Rev. Mr. Murray preach in the Universal Church. He gave the following explanation of a text which has often and long puzzled Commentators. 1 Corinthians,

1798

XV, verse 29. "To be baptized for the dead," he said, meant to be baptized professing a belief in the resurrection of the dead.

1799

April 30

Dr. Scott of the British Army dined with me this day. He had been to Pekin with Lord McCartney. He said at Pekin the dysentery was common. The heat there was in the shade 96°, in the sun 110°. The thermometer often fell 20° in a night in the summer. Their physicians felt the pulse but knew nothing of its indications; they believed the arteries carried air and that when the pulse was low air stagnated in the vessels. Their women were more sickly and less long lived than the men, owing to their feet not admitting of walking. Madness little known there but idiotism more common, treated with great respect. Murder uncommon, human life valued. The integrity of the body preserved in punishment, hence strangling used by law and exposure to cold in killing children; maiming the body used for one crime only, namely treason, the punishment is cutting the skin of the face at the forehead and drawing it over the eyes, nose, etc., so that the criminal may never see himself in a glass, being too bad a sight for himself to bear. One instance of suicide only, a merchant from the fall of 3,000,000 pounds of gold dust in his hands. They inoculate by conveying dry matter to the nose which often erodes part of the nose.

August 13

Visited Bartram's Gardens. One of his sons told me that his father had nine children, that they are all now living, the youngest thirty-eight years of age; Isaac the father died at eighty-four, in June, 1801.

August 16

A poor woman who had buried seven out of twelve children told me this day that her troubles were so great

that she forgot the days of the week. Arthur Howell and the Rev. Mr. Ustick both informed me that they had an assurance that none of their respective families should die of the yellow fever in 1793. Mr. Ustick said that he had an intimation that they should be sick, which was the case.

Nov. 16

Dr. Redman informed me that he gave the first half joe he earned to his mother and that God had blessed him for it, by never permitting him to want a half joe since.

Nov. 24

This day met in a sick room a Mr. Switzer, a relation of Lavater's. He said his relation was very eloquent in the pulpit, that he excelled like Stern in composing sermons full of new matter from uncommon texts, that although he, Mr. Switzer, was a Deist he was so charmed with Lavater's preaching that he could hear him ten times a day, that he had less learning than genius and that he wrote from observation and reflection and not from books. He said he was somewhat superstitious. He added that the literature of Germany was inferior to that of England and France, that it filled a chasm left by both nations. That there was less Christianity in Germany than in France, that it was attacked there by learning and not by wit as in France. He said his object of inquiry was the effects of civilization on moral happiness. That as yet he had made no discoveries, that the subject was a breaker in philosophy which perpetually beat him back.

Nov. 30

Mr. Switzer spoke of Volney, whom he knew intimately. He said he was proud and imposing in company, a great epicure and glutton, he neither spoke nor listened to conversation when he was eating, he even expanded his nostrils at Governor Mifflin's table to inhale the effluvia of the victuals before him. He used, it is said, to eat at his

1799

lodgings in the middle of the night. Mr. Switzer said further that he, Volney, had stolen the principal part of his Ruins of Empire from a work written in German by a Swiss. Mr. Switzer despised Atheists, he said prayer was so natural to man that if an Atheist were confined in a dungeon one week he would call upon a god to comfort him.

Dec. 14

This day died, universally lamented, General Washington. His disease was the cynanche trachialis; it proved fatal in fourteen hours. He was patient and resigned in his illness. He said his Will was made, his private affairs settled and his public business but two days behind. He wished his physicians to enable him to die easy. Congress instituted public honors to his memory. The whole United States mourned for him as for a father.

Dec. 26

A funeral eulogium before Congress and the City was delivered by General Harry Lee. It was sensible and moderate but was deficient in elocution and pathos. A Committee for reporting what honors should be paid to the memory of George Washington proposed that the day of his birth and death should be consecrated to the end of time and should be kept by orations and prayers. This part of the report was not made to Congress.

Funeral sermons were preached in all the churches, notice was taken of his death even in the Quaker Meeting by Is. Potts who called him the great occidental political luminary.

1800

Jany. 31

Mrs. Mullen, an old and intelligent nurse, told me she had often observed children to be more afflicted with the stomach-ache in stormy weather than at other times and that boys were more afflicted with it than girls.

1800

Feby. 14

Michael Deihle informed me that he had a mare that lived to be thirty-five years old and bore a colt three years before she died, that she had fifteen colts in all, all mares. He said that in driving two hundred cattle into Pennsylvania from Maryland in the month of July they all went into a cold spring; sixty of them died on the same day, the rest were sick for six weeks and recovered slowly with eruptions all over their bodies.

April 20

Heard Dr. Coke preach at Richard Allen's Church on these words: "We have received of his fulness grace for grace." I afterwards drank tea with him at Richard Allen's. He afterwards said there were 100,000 Methodists in connection in Ireland, 17,000 in England and 12,000 blacks in the West Indies, whom we are not ashamed, he said, to call our brethren. He breakfasted with me on the Thursday following with a Minister of the name of Seargant. He was sensible and entertaining in conversation. After breakfast he proposed to pray. To this we readily consented. His prayer was connected and pertinent.

April 29

A black woman of the name of Ruth, who once lived with an old friend of mine, Emily David, called upon me this morning on business while I was at breakfast. She was desired to sit down in my study. When I came to her, after some conversation, she said the first thing that struck her in my study was "Here is time, place and opportunity to worship God."

April 29

Died Mrs. Allen, one of the belles of Philadelphia. She made one of her physicians declare a few days before she died upon his honor that she was not dying.

1800

May 2

Died Tench Francis, aged sixty-eight. He used to say that all poor men were rascals, that he hated a good man, also that he always avoided his friends when they were sick for he hated everything that was related to death. He once threatened to cane a sexton for inviting him to a funeral.

May 17

This morning my dear and always beloved daughter, Emily Cuthbert, left me with her husband and child to go to Canada where she is to reside. She wept, as did all the servants in my family. My wife and daughter attended her to New York. My daughter Emily had never once offended me nor did I ever speak an angry or harsh word to her. Her very infancy and childhood were marked with uncommon gentleness and goodness.

June 3

Mr. Sharpless, the Painter, breakfasted and dined with me. He said the best time to sit for a picture was between breakfast and dinner. That a turn for painting and mechanics were related. He also said that when the French sailors raise an anchor one of the ship's officers stand by them and repeat every now and then the name of a great man.

June 20

John Montgomery, my sister's son, called to see me with a lieutenant's uniform. He had been just disbanded. His conversation was improper and rude.

July 25

Captain Ashmead informed me that he had been married forty years and had spent but ten of them with his family, the remaining thirty he had passed at sea. He was a fond father and husband and happy at home.

1800

EPITAPH FOR CAPTAIN JNO. ASHMEAD

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF.

"In life's hard bustle, on the troubled seas,
Thro' many storms and many a prosperous breeze,
Thro' winter's blasts, and summer's sultry sun
From frigid, to the torrid zones I've run.
In ninety voyages, thro' unnumber'd toils,
I've sailed above 500,000 miles.
Been taken; foundered; and oft cast away;
Yet weathered all,—in this *close port* to lay,
Where a *dead* calm, my weary bark doth find
Obliged to anchor—for the want of *wind*."

August 1

Sam Bayard informed me that there had been twenty-four instances of suicide in New York in and since last Spring, three of whom were servant girls, one in consequence of being rebuked by her mistress.

August 23

Dr. Dow from Orleans breakfasted with me. He was on his way to Scotland after an absence of twenty-three years. He said at Orleans those natives and old settlers who went out of the town and came in again took the yellow fever last year, but no other natives or old settlers. He said diseases of the skin were very common in Orleans. He told me Don Galvez, the Governor of Florida, made it a practice to retire when he was angry and drink a bottle of claret to compose his body and mind. October 7, in the year 1755, my brother began to learn the languages with four classmates, three of whom died before 1772, the fourth about 1773; he is now the only survivor of his class. In the same years I was in a class with Eben Hazzard, William Williams, Alexander Huston, John Archer, Joseph Alexander, Thomas Ruston and Charles Cummins, all of whom except Huston are now living. Ruston died about 1804 and Williams in 1807.

1801

Jany. 17

This day saw Dr. Priestley, now in his sixty-eighth year. He said Dr. Heberden was his particular friend. That he was very charitable. That he sent him nearly £20 a year to assist in conducting his experiments. That he had given himself wholly to religious inquiries and charities, and once said to a friend that after all he gave away he was afraid he should die shamefully rich. Dr. Priestley said Mr. Wesley used to say if he died worth more than £20, enough to bury him, he would give the world leave to call him an impostor.

Jany. 25

This day died my dear cousin, Dr. John Hall, he left me his Executor and Guardian of his only son. His black woman whom he had emancipated twenty years before, said he had been her master, father and mother. "If," said she, "any man had taken him away I would tear him to pieces, but as God Almighty has done it, why I must submit."

Feby. 6

This day died at White Hill, near Bordentown, my dear and much beloved mother-in-law, Mrs. Stockton. Her latter end was happy and full of peace and joy.

Feby. 12

This day Dr. Priestley dined with me. He said his memory was so defective that he forgot not only what he had published but what he had written two weeks before for the press, although the subject of it required a good deal of investigation.

Feby. 20

This day Mrs. Adams dined with my family on her return from the Federal City to Braintree.

1801

Feby. 23

This morning died at the Billet, near Philadelphia, Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, a woman of uncommon intelligence and virtue, admired, esteemed and beloved by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintances. Her life was marked with distress from all its numerous causes, guilt excepted. An early disappointment in love, the loss of all her near relations, bad health, an unfortunate marriage connection, poverty, and finally a slow and painful death, composed the ingredients that filled up her cup of suffering. She was the intimate friend of my dear mother-in-law who died a few weeks before her. I owe to her many obligations. She introduced me into her circle of friends.

March

Saw Dr. Priestley often this month. Attended him in a severe pleurisy. His conversation was always instructive. The following are the principal ideas collected from it: First. He had no opinion of those commentaries on the prophecies which fixed the time of our Saviour's coming, that time was known only to God. Second. He once attended a friend on his deathbed; he squeezed his hand and said, "Take care of my name when I am gone, don't let them tear me to pieces." Third. Sir Christopher Wren upon seeing the citizens of London about to rebuild London as closely as before the great fire said, "You do not deserve such a fire." Fourth. Dr. Priestley received in legacies $2000, $500 and $100, from three different people since his arrival in America. Fifth. He said from the authority of Dr. Aiken that Dr. Doddridge had once invited Dr. Foster, the Socinian, to preach for him in Northampton and afterwards denied it in London. He confessed his want of veracity to Dr. Aiken years afterwards with tears. Sixth. In his sickness he said he was content and thankful, he was comforted by his son sending in the Psalms to him, and his son's wife in the book of Deuteronomy, which book he greatly ad-

mired. He once in his sickness spoke of his second son, William, and wept very much. Seventh. He once went to breakfast with Sir George Saville. Sir George got up late and said his head ached from sitting up till two o'clock in the House of Commons. A dreadful place, he said, to make havoc of the soul and body of man. He said Sir George was upon the whole honest but never but once left his party on any question. It is considered the only immorality in England for a man to leave his party. Mr. Adams once gave me the same information. Eighth. Dr. Priestley told me Dr. Franklin always wrote down his arguments or reasons for or against any measure before he decided on it and carefully viewed his papers etc.

August 1

William Wister, aged fifty-six, died this day, a bachelor who had accumulated the large estate of $300,000. by the sale of British drygoods. He was kind, charitable, generous, friendly and even just. He divided his estate justly by will among his relations. He was a Quaker by education. He was interred in the Baptist church-yard at the request of his brother-in-law, Colonel Miles.

August 29

The Rev. Dr. Willard dined with me. He is President of Cambridge College. He said it appeared from Mr. Whitefield's private journal that he had preached 18,000 sermons in the course of his life. This day died Robert Bass, aged near eighty years. He came to America with General Braddock in 1755 as an Apothecary to his Army, and settled after the war in Philadelphia. He was neat and correct in his manner of putting up his medicines which gave him a great deal of business. He accumulated a genteel estate, but was beloved by no one, being cynical, selfish and often rude to his customers.

1801

Sept. 4

Amos Taylor died this day of suicide by a rope. He had been unsuccessful in speculation. Visited Dr. Hall at the Lazaretto in apparently the last stage of a chronic disease from strong drink. Returned September 5th with Dr. James, whom I found a pleasant and agreeable companion. He had been studying the controversy between the Deists and Christians, and between the Calvinists and Universalists. He acknowledged himself a firm believer in the Christian religion and disposed to believe in final restitution.

Sept. 5

My wife and youngest child went into New Jersey with the Rev. Mr. Hunter. Waited on John Quincy Adams and lady who arrived yesterday from Hamburg. He had been absent seven years from the United States and had been chiefly in Berlin, which he said contains 150,000 inhabitants. The country around it was poor but well cultivated. Grease substituted for butter, theft uncommon, but some vices very common. The late Frederick the Second, he said, was still idolized as a demagogue, he had two looks out of his eyes, one of sternness, the other of fascination, with the last he won his enemies.

Sept. 7

They drank coffee with me at Sydenham.

Sept. 10

They dined with me with George Clymer, Thomas Adams, Dr. Cox and Thomas Biddle. Mr. J. Q. Adams was very entertaining. He said reading was universal in Prussia. That there were ten thousand men who lived by book making and three hundred new novels published in Germany every year. That the Prussian Army consisted of 240,000 men. That the common soldiers suffered so much from discipline as often to kill themselves. That intemperance in eating was very common, that six persons

had died at table while he was in Berlin of Apoplexy, and one at a dance, a young man of twenty-one, from too tight clothes, especially a cravat tied around his neck by his servant. That nothing was spoken but French in all polite circles. That he had known the cold fifteen degrees below zero once at Berlin. That all their rooms were heated by ornamented stoves and that by confining the heat they used but little fuel, two fires a day being sufficient. Last night an attempt was made to break open our country house. The kitchen of the house was broken open on the previous Saturday and the gardener's clothes stolen from his chest.

Sept. 13

Visited Dr. Hall at the Lazaretto, where I met William Savery, who visited the Doctor with me and gave him a pertinent exhortation suited to his apparently dying condition. Mr. Savery informed me that he and George Dilwyn had spent half an hour about two years ago in the company of George the Third and his family. He said he had more knowledge than was generally believed. That he asked many questions relative to the affairs of Germany and France where Mr. Savery had been and of America. When Mr. Savery said the connection between the United States and Britain was a natural one from the sameness of religion, language &c., and that he hoped it would always continue, George the Third said: "God grant it." He asked if he, Mr. Savery, had seen the ruins of the City of Lyons. He said yes, and that 30,000 people had been destroyed there during the war. He cried out to his Queen, "Hear this, Charlotte." "Oh," said the Queen, "I have heard enough of it, I can't bear to hear any more about it."

Sept. 17

Died George Roberts, a wealthy, respectable citizen, of a cancer of near twenty years' continuance; Dr. David Jackson, a worthy, useful man; Dr. James Hall, my former pupil

and partner, he lived eight years in my family, during which time I never knew him to equivocate, much less to lie; he was amiable in his temper and elegant in his manner.

Sept. 18

Mr. Samuel Coates informed me that there was now at Abingdon a Quaker preacher who was one of thirteen children, the youngest of whom was above forty-five, all of whom are now living; their father lived to be above eighty and was a native of Pennsylvania.

Attended the funeral of George Roberts from his seat at Point-No-Point. Julia and Sam Rush accompanied me. Samuel Coates rode home with us in the funeral procession.

Sept. 21

The Rev. Mr. Bend and wife, of Baltimore, dined with me.

Oct. 19

Mr. Longbottom, a dentist from Jamaica, breakfasted with me.

Oct. 25

Dr. Tidyman and wife and Dr. Blythe and wife drank tea with us. The former Doctor had just returned, after a fifteen years' absence in Europe to South Carolina, his native State. Dr. Blythe was an old pupil of mine. Rev. Mr. Murray of Boston came in and sat with us two hours after tea.

December

Mr. Knight informed me that his grandfather brought some apple and pear seeds to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1682 and planted them the same year at Abingdon; twenty of those trees he said were now living.

1801

Dec. 17

This day visited a child of Mr. McKensie from Jamaica of twenty months' old, whose mother at that time was not fifteen years old.

1802

Jany. 4

This day met the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital with all the physicians excepting Dr. Barton, and proposed to them; first, to grant us a man of education to superintend the lunatics, to walk with them, converse with them, &c., &c., in order to awaken and regulate their minds. Secondly, to finish the operating room for which we offered them Three hundred dollars a year of the book fund. Thirdly, to give us a movable vapor bath. We assented at the same time to their adding lying-in wards to the present institution.

Feby.

Three instances of suicide have occurred within the last month in this City; one, a man of the name of Fullerton, from being hissed off the stage.

Feby. 4

Received a visit from Dr. Watson, just returned from Spain. He was full of anecdotes of Spain and France. Madrid contained 200,000 inhabitants; no suburbs or country-seats. He said Bonaparte was a small man, quick in his motions, nearly runs in the streets and gallops in riding. Heard the Rev. John Leland of Massachusetts preach in the Baptist Church. His text was from Leviticus. He began: "My text is from the Old Testament, but I will give you a New Testament sermon. He said he could not sin cheap. Death was a great nothing. Good men thought the road to heaven wide enough. He was, he said, so imprudent he never passed an hour nor preached a sermon without doing or saying something he was sorry for." His memory was wonderful. He repeated in the evening all the

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forty-two places at which the Children of Israel encamped in going from Egypt to Canaan.

March 6

This day the College of New Jersey was burned to the ground. During this month I was called upon to assist Robert Smith in getting subscriptions to rebuild the College. He got Six hundred dollars in three days.

March 8

Last night I dreamed of reflecting upon the general neglect with which details and complaints of mad men are treated when the following sentence occurred to me: "His words of woe serve but to swell the proud periods of the poet's verse." To-day we saw an old German woman in our walk in Filbert Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets who was said to be above one hundred years old. She remembered William Penn. She lived in a poor hovel with three dogs on a lot that was her own. I asked her if she had a Will by her. She said "No," she did not think she was near dying, she hoped to live a hundred years longer, for her father, she said, was then living in Germany and was between two and three hundred years old. A similar instance of folly and self-deception occurred in Tench Francis in his last illness. Upon being advised to settle his affairs he said he did not think it certain he should die at any time. Upon being told that death was the portion of all mankind, he said: "Yes, that was the case formerly, but there may be new orders, and I may yet be exempted from dying and live forever in this world."

Many failures occurred among the merchants of Philadelphia during the last winter.

April 25

Dr. Enoch Edwards, my first pupil, thirty-one years ago, died. He was idle and dissipated when a young man, but when he settled became an active, intelligent and useful

member of society, and a friendly, worthy man. He arranged everything relative to his funeral before he died, and even named the joiner who was to make his coffin.

April 26

Died John Stille. He had been my tailor near forty years and I had been the physician of his family above thirty years. His understanding and knowledge were far above his occupation. He was amiable in his manners and respected by everyone. He had not an enemy in the world, I never heard any person speak against him.

July 9

Died, universally and justly lamented, on Wednesday morning near Frankford, in the 42d year of her age, Mrs. Rebecca Smith, wife of Mr. Robert Smith, merchant, of this city. A mind elevated by nature, education and religion, rendered this excellent woman an object of uncommon respect and esteem to all who knew her. She lived to a numerous family as if she owed no obligations to society, and she lived to society, as if she had no family. Such was the modest and private use she made of the talents and virtues with which heaven had endowed her, that their benevolent application was seldom known, except by accident, to her most intimate friends. During a tedious and distressing illness there was no departure in impatience, or complaint, from the natural propriety and dignity of her character. With every comfort, and tie to life that could make it desirable, she met the approach of death with composure, and resigned her breath, with a full reliance upon the merits of a Redeemer for her future happiness.

Nov. 16

This night at twelve o'clock died my excellent friend the Rev. William Marshall. We settled in Philadelphia the same year, 1769, and lived in the most uninterrupted friendship ever since. He was a profound Divine, an eminent

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Christian, a correct and systematic preacher and a most instructing and entertaining companion. He built by his influence two Presbyterian Churches during his life in Philadelphia. I loved him sincerely and deplored his death affectionately. A few hours before he died he squeezed my hand with his hand which was cold with the coldness of death and said, "Ah, my friend, my friend, not lost but gone before!" Many and delightful were the hours we passed together and much of what I knew of many subjects connected with theology I derived from his conversation. During his illness he spoke frequently upon religious subjects and always with his usual good sense. Upon my complaining of my inability to save life where I was most anxious to do it, he said, "Oh, Doctor, there is an awful decree against the certainty of your profession, viz. 'It is appointed for all men once to die.'" Upon my complaining at another time of the abortive issue of many of my plans for promoting the happiness of my fellow citizens, he said, "Don't be uneasy upon that account, our Saviour will say at the day of judgment, 'Well done thou faithful, not thou successful servant.' Let this comfort you under all your disappointments. If you have been faithful it will be enough." He was unwilling to believe himself dying, when asked about half an hour before he died by his nephew if he had anything to say about his affairs to say it for that he had not long to live. "Why," said he, "do you suppose me to be dying?" "Yes, I do," said his nephew. "You are very much mistaken," said he, "I am not."

Dec. 9

Dined this day at Captain Manly's with three Methodist Ministers, viz. Mr. Cooper, Mr. McGlashey and Mr. Kirk, the last an Irishman now of New York, told me that a Mr. Pickering, a gentleman of eminent piety in Dublin, had told him that Mr. John Wesley had acknowledged to him not long before he died that he believed in final restitu-

1802

tion, also in the resurrection of some of the brute creation. Mr. Pickering asked him, "Why, then, don't you preach the doctrine of final restitution." He told him he had hinted at it in London among his friends, but they did not relish it and he was afraid by publishing it he might injure his usefulness. Mr. Kirk said further that Mr. Wesley had in the course of his life written and published two hundred octavo volumes and that for many years he wrote four thousand letters, preached eight hundred times and rode eight thousand miles in every year. Mr. G—d, a merchant from small beginnings, became immensely rich, in this elevated situation he punished a sea captain whom he forbade to bring anything from Calcutta on his account by dismissing him from his service for only bringing a present to a lady to whom he was engaged in a handkerchief. He insulted a worthy and sensible man for only hinting his advice to him how to get one of his ships off the stocks, and gave an abrupt answer to a respectable citizen who asked him what he was going to do with some boards he was hauling to one of his lots. Men will be gods.

1803

Feby. 1

I prevented a duel between my pupil John Wooten and Daniel Wilson by informing Alderman Robert Wharton of it, who between eleven and twelve o'clock arrested them and bound them over to their good behavior.

April 18

This morning at three o'clock died of a consumption Rev. Thomas Ustick, Minister of a Baptist Church. An amiable, inoffensive man, a sincere Christian and faithful Minister of the Gospel. He was my warm and constant friend.

May 14

Died this day at four o'clock the Rev. Dr. William Smith, formerly Provost of the College of Philadelphia, in

1803

the seventy-seventh year of his age, being seventy-six on the 20th of the preceding April. This man's life and character would fill a volume. He was a native of Scotland and arrived in Philadelphia above fifty years ago, and for many years made a distinguished figure in the politics of Pennsylvania. He possessed genius, taste and learning. As a teacher he was perspicuous and agreeable, and as a preacher solemn, eloquent and impressive in a high degree. Unhappily his conduct in all his relations and situations was opposed to his talents and profession. His person was slovenly and his manners awkward and often offensive in company. In the duties he owed to his College he was deficient, insomuch that a person who knew him well, upon being asked where he should find Dr. Smith, answered, "Anywhere but at the College." His time and talents were principally devoted to acquiring property by taking up new lands. For these he exposed himself to cold, heat, and dangers of various kinds, and for these he often made sacrifices, 'tis said, of conscience and reputation. A single act will illustrate this part of his character. He had acquired a grant from Mr. Penn to a tract of land which had been occupied for many years. To acquire a title to it it was necessary he should survey it. The person who lived on it declared if he attempted to carry a chain around it he would shoot him. The Doctor gave out that he should preach in the neighborhood of this person on a certain day. He went with his family to hear him and while he was from home the Doctor had the land surveyed without interruption by men whom he had previously hired for that purpose. From spending his time in the woods and in that kind of company to which his land pursuits led him he early contracted a love for strong drink and became towards the close of his life an habitual drunkard. He was often seen to reel and once to fall in the streets of Philadelphia. His temper was irritable in the highest degree and when angry he swore in the most extravagant manner. He seldom paid a

1803

debt without being sued or without a quarrel, he was extremely avaricious and lived after acquiring an estate of $50,000 in penury and filth at a country house he built when a young man at the Falls of Schuylkill. In this retired situation he passed the last ten years of his life under the direction and influence of a German girl who, it was said, not only robbed him but often treated him with neglect and insult. He had three sons and one daughter to whom he acted generously in donating his property, but whom he treated so rudely that they avoided his society as much as possible. After he passed his seventieth year he made several excursions into the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in order to view and settle his lands. The leisure from his worldly pursuits during the last two years of his life was employed in preparing several volumes of sermons for the press. In proportion as his health declined he detached himself from this employment and applied himself wholly to the settling of his affairs. After his sickness confined him to his bed he received a communion, and said to Dr. Blackwell, upon a review of his life, he saw nothing to reproach himself with but having been a little too irritable in his temper, and to me he said, "Had I to live my life over again I would never take up lands in partnership with anybody." This appeared to be the only error he deplored in his conduct in the course of his long journey through life. On his deathbed he never spoke upon any subject connected with religion or his future state, nor was there a Bible or Prayer Book ever seen in his room. His bed was surrounded with trunks of papers and his constant employment consisted in opening and reading them. When he was unable to read them from the weakness of his eyesight he had them strewed upon the bed and gazed upon them; after he lost his sight he called for his papers. His nurse put two old papers upon medical subjects into his hands with which he amused himself about an hour before be died. Sometimes he obliged his son to read descriptions

of his lands to him when he lay on his deathbed. So familiar were they to him that he corrected his son's reading when he mistook a single perch. During his illness he swore often at his nurses, for he had three in succession, at his son and once at his physician. This might be ascribed to delirium or imbecility of mind were it not too notorious that he was an habitual swearer in the most healthy period of his life. That this conduct in life should want no folly he courted an accomplished and excellent woman about a year before he died and urged his suit by a promise to make a handsome settlement upon her. She refused his offer in a manner that became her character. With this deficiency of virtue he possessed great influence in society, acquired by industry, perseverance and flattery, also by threats when he dared to use them. It was a favorite maxim with him that to gain mankind it was necessary not to respect him, and he often boasted that he had never failed in any of his enterprises. In reviewing the character of this man we are struck with the great contrariety of his morals and his religious principles. But the character is not a new one. From the writings of St. Paul it is evident that it is possible to hold the truth in unrighteousness. He descended to his grave which he had formed for himself in a mausoleum on a country-seat which he left to the Church, without being lamented by a human creature. From the absence of all his children not a drop of kindred blood attended his funeral. It was remarkable with all his attachments to this world he often spoke of his death, funeral and grave. In one fit of his asthma, which threatened his dissolution, he sent to his brother's wife for a shroud. I once asked him what his prospects hereafter were. He answered, he had no doubt of being happy and that he dreaded only the pains of dying. He said jocularly, he hoped death would not give him a hard squeeze for he had never been his enemy having seldom even preached against him. His self-deception appeared further in a note he once sent me in a violent fit of

1803

his disease. "Come and see a resigned Christian die." In a visit I paid him the day but one before he died he complained of my leaving him too soon and then in angry tones said, "By the Lord God, if you don't stay longer with me I will send for another Doctor," and instantly afterwards damned his nurse who sat by him. From a review of all the facts here stated and hundreds more of a similar nature that might be mentioned, he appears to have been a nondescript in the history of man.

May 19

Heard this day from the Rev. Dr. Nesbit that the Rev. Dr. John Erskine of Edinborough died January 19th of the present year. He was my friend when in Scotland and my correspondent ever since. Few clergymen have ever lived or died whose benevolence and usefulness filled a larger sphere.

1804

Jany. 17

Died at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the Rev. Dr. Charles Nesbit, Principal of the College at that place, aged sixty-six. He was in acquired knowledge a walking library. He knew a great deal of many and a little of all subjects. His knowledge was derived from books that few people read and that many people never heard of. This was owing to a peculiar circumstance. He lived next door to a pastry cook at Montrose in Scotland, who used to import old books from London by the barrel to put their leaves under his pies. Before he tore them up he permitted Dr. Nesbit to look over them and to take such as he wanted at a trifling price for his own use. These books the Doctor read and from them extracted a great deal of rare and uncommon knowledge. He was an excellent companion and his conversation overflowed with wit, humor and instructing anecdotes. Unhappily he was like Dr. South of a querulous disposition and more disposed to find fault than to praise. His usefulness

to society was by no means proportioned to his uncommon abilities and extensive knowledge. He rather resembled a fountain which poured forth streams in a royal garden for the amusement of spectators than a rich and copious stream that fertilized in its course an extensive country. He died, it was said, of a broken heart occasioned by the bad conduct of his eldest son who was a notorious drunkard and who in a fit of insanity struck his father.

Feby. 6

This day died in Northumberland the Rev. Dr. Priestley. For the particulars of his death see the annexed paper written by his friend Thomas Cooper.

DEATH OF DR. PRIESTLEY

The death of this great and good man has already been announced to the public, but, as the *manner* in which he *left this world,* furnishes a striking proof of the importance of religious principles, and the efficacy of Xian hope, not only gratified by a brief recital of what took place during the close of the illness which terminated in his death.

It is true that Dr. Priestley differed in opinion from the generality of Xians on several doctrinal points; but he heartily concurred with them in a belief of the existence, perfections, and providence of Almighty God, the truth and excellence of Divine Revelation, the Messiahship of Jesus, the necessity of holiness in heart and life, and a future state of righteous retribution at the second coming of Christ.

His general conduct through life and particularly on many great and trying occasions, sufficiently proved how much he was influenced by these great principles; yet the force of them was still more conspicuously displayed during his late illness and particularly during the last days of his life. He died not with resignation merely, but with cheer-

1804

fulness; considering death, after an useful and well spent life, as necessary to enable him to enter on a new and enlarged sphere of action, as the labourer does sleep at night to enable *him* to perform the duties of another day.

Since his illness at Philadelphia, in the year 1801, he never regained his former good state of health. His complaint was constant indigestion and difficulty of swallowing food of any kind.—But during this period of general debility, he was busily employed in printing his Church History and the first volume of his notes on the Scriptures, and in making new and original experiments. During this period likewise, he wrote his pamphlet of Jesus and Socrates compared, and reprinted his essay on Phlogiston.

From about the beginning of November, 1803, to the middle of January, 1804, his complaint grew more serious; yet, by judicial medical treatment, and strict attention to diet, he after some time seemed if not gaining strength at least not getting worse; and his friends fondly hoped that his health would continue to improve as the season advanced. He, however, considered his life very precarious. Even at this time, besides his miscellaneous reading, which was at all times very extensive, he read through all the works quoted in his comparison of the different systems of the Grecian Philosophers with Xianity, composed that work, and transcribed the whole of it in less than three months.—So that he has left it ready for the press. During this period, he composed, *in one day,* his second reply to Dr. Linn.

In the last fortnight of January, his fits of indigestion became more alarming, his legs swelled, and his weakness increased. Within two days of his death, he became so weak that he could walk but a little way, and that with great difficulty: for some time he found himself unable to speak; but on recovering a little, he told his friends that he had never felt more pleasantly during his whole life-time, than during the time that he was unable to speak. He was

fully sensible that he had not long to live, yet talked with cheerfulness to all who called on him. In the course of the day, he expressed his thankfulness at being permitted to die quietly, in his family, without pain, and with every convenience and comfort that he could wish for. He dwelt upon the peculiarly happy situation in which it had pleased the Divine Being to place him in life, and the great advantage he had enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendship of some of the best and wisest of men in the age in which he lived, and the satisfaction he derived from having led an useful as well as a happy life. He this day gave directions about printing the remainder of his notes on Scripture, (a work, in the completion of which he was much interested), and looked over the first sheet of the third volume, after it was corrected by those who were to attend to its completion, and expressed his satisfaction at the manner of its being executed.

On Sunday the 5th, he was much weaker, but sat up in an arm-chair for a few minutes. He desired that John XI chap. might be read to him—he stopped the reader at the 45th verse, dwelt for some time on the advantage he had derived from reading the scriptures daily, and recommended this practice, saying, that it would prove a source of the purest pleasure. "We shall all (said he) meet finally; we only require different degrees of discipline suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness." Mr. ——— coming into his room, he said: "You see, sir, I am still living." Mr. ——— observed, "that he would always live." "Yes, I *believe* I *shall;* we shall meet again in another and a better world." He said this with great animation, laying hold of Mr. ———'s hand in both his own. After evening prayers, when his grandchildren were brought to his bed-side, he spoke to them separately, and exhorted them to continue to love each other, &c. "I am going (added he) to sleep as well as you; for death is only

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a good long sound sleep in the grave—and we shall meet again."

On Monday morning, the 6th of February, on being asked how he did, he answered in a faint voice, that he had no pain, but appeared fainting away gradually. About 8 o'clock he desired to have three pamphlets which had been looked out by his directions the evening before. *He then dictated as clearly and distinctly as he had ever done in his life, the additions and alterations which he wished to have made in each.* Mr. ———— took down the substance of what he said, which was read to him: He observed, "Sir, you have put it in your own language: I wish it to be in *mine*." He *then repeated over again, nearly word for word what he had before said,* and when it was transcribed and read over to him, he said, "That is right, I have now done."

About half an hour after, he desired that he might be moved to a cot.—About ten minutes after he was moved to it, he died; but breathed his last so easily, that those who were sitting close to him, did not immediately perceive it. He had put his hand to his face, which prevented them from observing it.

He was born on the 24th of March, 1733.

> Mark the perfect and behold the upright:
> For the end of that man is peace.

Feby. 7

Died at Bath William Bingham, of this City. He left an estate valued at Three million of dollars, half a million of which was in stocks of different kinds. He was pleasant in his manners, amiable in his temper, liberal, but said not to be charitable. He died in his fifty-third year. He acquired his immense estate by his own ingenuity. Mr. Adams informed me that Mr. Bingham had borrowed sixty thousand pounds sterling in Holland, all of which he laid out in certificates when they were at 2/6 and 3 shillings in a pound. In all his money speculations he was fortunate.

1804

March 1

Died Edward Stiles, worth near $200,000. A poor ignorant avaricious creature, he withheld all the comforts of life from his only son; he has seldom paid a debt without being sued for it, even his taxes were extorted from him by law. He had no confidence in banks nor funds. He loved silver, gold, bonds and real property only. $28,000 were found in his chests and his keys were found under his body after his death. This month a whale killed at Reedy Island thirty-seven feet in length was exhibited at a show near Kensington to many spectators, perhaps a thousand.

Epitaph composed many years ago on Dr. Priestley, taken from an English paper:

"Here lie at rest
In open chest
Together packed most nicely
The blood and veins
The bones and brains
And soul of Dr. Priestley."

March 10

Dined this day with the Rev. Henry Coke at Henry Manly's. He said the members of the Methodist Church were 94,000 in Britain, 25,000 in Ireland, 17,000 in the West Indies and 104,000 in America. That no member of their Society in Britain was a legislator, magistrate, or even a captain of militia, but that some of them were now in arms as privates in the militia. That their Ministers neither advised them nor dissuaded them from taking up arms. That he had never been but once insulted or ill-treated in all his travels and voyages on account of his principles as a Methodist and that was by a Baltimore Captain with whom he arrived in this country. That he intended to sue him but was prevented by a sudden impression of the text on his mind, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." The man perished at sea two years afterwards. The Doctor said he had crossed the Atlantic seventeen times. He had lately spent

1804

a day with Dr. Paley at Carlisle, of whom he spoke highly. He knew Bishop Horn. He said he was pious but now and then lost dignity by punning in conversation. He spoke against titles and said they created more pride than wealth. He said the Deists everywhere were kind to the Methodists. Dr. Darwin was so in a remarkable degree having never charged any of their preachers for his medical services.

June 21

Was visited by the Baron von Humbolt, a Prussian Nobleman of great talents and erudition. He had just returned from spending six years in South America, every part of which he had examined with the eye of a philosopher, naturalist, physician and a man. He was communicate of what he had acquired in his travels. The results of his conversation are recorded elsewhere.

June 27

The Baron, with his two fellow-travellers, Mr. Bonpland and Mr. Montrefia, drank tea with me this afternoon. The Baron was as usual entertaining and instructing on all subjects.

June 29

Supped with him at John Mifflin's. He said all the mints of Mexico and Peru were private property and that money was coined there at a moderate expense. That Thirty-eight millions were coined in the two countries, Twenty-five and Twenty-eight in Mexico. The mines of Peru were the richest but small in number. That since the year 1612, Nineteen hundred millions of dollars had been coined in one mint at Mexico alone. The coinage had gradually increased since that time to its present amount. That nine and a half per cent. duty was paid to the King, amounting to about Four millions. It would be a curious question, said the Baron, to determine the moral influence of the money coined since the year 1612 on the world. The

increase of the inhabitants on the globe made an increase of money necessary everywhere. The Chinese, he said, did not bury their money. He could not account for its disappearing there. He said about Three million of dollars were coined in Germany, only two millions in France. He said the whitest Indians he saw were nearly under the Equator and the blackest above twenty degrees from it. He said on the Jembaracco Mountain below snow fifteen feet under the ground were found deep beds of ice at all seasons and on no other mountain.

July 12

Died of a wound received in a duel the day before from Colonel Burr, Alexander Hamilton, Esquire, the Aide of Washington in the field, and his principal counsellor in the Cabinet while President of the United States. He was learned, ingenious and eloquent, and the object of universal admiration and attachment of one party and of hatred of the other party which then constituted the American people. He was greatly and universally lamented. Funeral orations were delivered in honor of him in New York and Boston and funeral sermons preached upon his death in many Churches. Mourning was worn for him by many of the citizens of the principal cities and towns in the United States. Colonel Burr visited Philadelphia the week afterwards, went into company and walked the streets with apparent unconcern. General Hamilton lost a son two years before in a duel, which duel he knew and approved of. On his death-bed he condemned this duelling in strong terms.

August 30

Died suddenly of a rupture of a blood vessel in his lungs the Rev. Dr. John Blair Linn, aged twenty-seven, a young man of promising talent.

1804

Oct. 1

This evening died in consequence of falling into the fire Mrs. M. McClenachan, wife of Blair McClenachan. She lived but four hours afterwards; said she felt no bodily pain but pain of mind only. About the same time died Dr. Thomas Ruston. He had been my schoolmate and classmate four years and we grew up in friendship for each other. After succeeding to an estate of forty thousand guineas by the death of his father-in-law, he lost all the habits of innocence, friendship and benevolence of his early life and became a sort of speculator and an oppressor even of some branches of his own family. He spent the above sum in five years and came out of jail a bankrupt. He reduced his family to great poverty and distress. After his misfortunes &c. he attempted to pay his addresses to two of the richest widows in Philadelphia and of the most respectable characters and families. Though treated with every possible indignity by them he believed one of them to be partial to him and he called upon Bishop White to attend at her house on a certain evening to marry them. He was the object of the contempt and pity of the whole city.

May 1

Mrs. Bard of New York, told me that Mrs. Duché had a delicate stomach and that lest it should be offended by the food she ate at sea she always took off her spectacles when she sat down to her meals that she might not see anything disgusting in her food. How wisely would we act in company, in hearing sermons, in speaking of absent friends, in travelling &c. always to take off our spectacles. By this practice we should avoid feeling and giving a great deal of pain in our journey through life. Mrs. Duché once said to me she would rather make successful caudle to please the palate of a sick person than discover a Georgium Sidus.

1807

May 27

This day my two daughters, Emily Cuthbert and Mary Manners, and their two children with Mr. Cuthbert and Miss Antrobus, niece to Mr. Cuthbert, and two servants arrived upon a visit to my family to the great joy of all of us.

June 8

Finished the notes on Pringle.

June 23

This day I witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of St. James's Church in Seventh Street by Bishop White, attended by the vestry &c. of his Church. The Bishop, after a short address to the bystanders, offered up a short prayer for the success of the undertaking and for the safety and lives of the persons who were to be employed in building the Church.

June 29

This day Rev. Mr. Pilmore informed me that in 1783 he visited a Rev. Mr. Perrouet, a clergyman of the Church of England, in the ninetieth year of his age. He rose when he came into his room and said: "I rise to receive you in the Name of the Lord." He then said that he believed great events were about to be brought about. That there would be a great overturning of all the nations in the earth and that then the Millennium would come. "I shall," said he, "soon die and go to heaven from whence I shall look down and see it, but you may live to see it."

July 1

This day my two beloved daughters with their two children and Mr. Cuthbert &c. left us for their return to Canada. It was to us all a day of sorrow; one of them, Mary, we shall probably never see again.

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July 2

A town meeting was held of which I was invited to be Chairman. I declined it partly on account of the distress I felt from parting with my daughters. There was in addition nothing in my heart that vibrated with the objects of the meeting.

July 24

This day Dr. Dauxion Lavaysse, a Swiss, breakfasted with me. He had lived ten years in Trinidad and had been educated in Edinborough. He was amiable, sensible, well-read, and what was more extraordinary in a French physician, a firm believer in Christianity and in Dr. Clark's doctrine of the Trinity. He spoke highly of a Dr. Anrie at Guadeloupe, who had been persecuted for his new opinions in medicine and his attachment to republican principles.

Sept. 20

This day visited Mrs. Coxe, a daughter of my old master Dr. Redman, who returned to Philadelphia after an absence of twenty-four years to see her aged parents, her father eighty-four and her mother eighty-two. They were highly gratified and revived on seeing her. Her venerable father said to me when he left her twenty-four years ago that, "he that loved father or mother or wife or child more than me is unworthy of me." With this text he said he had been comforted. This day he said to me that he owed ten thousand talents for this new debt contracted to heaven and that as he could not pay a farthing for it he was determined to turn bankrupt and throw himself wholly upon the mercy of his divine creditor.

Sept. 21

This day Dr. Smith of Virginia called upon me on his way to New York, to which place he had been invited to teach Anatomy in the new College of that City.

1807

December 31

This evening died under my care Charles Nichols, born in the Island of Jersey November, 1759. He left his parents when ten years old and spent the early part of his youth in a humble situation at sea. After he was twenty-one he acquired a little property upon which he traded occasionally in Boston, Philadelphia, England, France and Denmark, and accumulated in the course of his life about Twelve thousand dollars. He was singular in his person, being small and ill-made; singular in his temper and disposition, being irritable and economical in a high degree, and singular in his conduct during his last illness. This appeared in the indifference with which he spoke of his death and funeral, also in the continuance of an old habit of swearing and in his refusing to receive the visits of a clergyman. He was singular in the manner in which he disposed of his property, this was in charities and in legacies to particular friends; one of the former was Five thousand dollars which he left to the Pennsylvania Hospital upon a condition that he should be buried within the enclosures of the Hospital and have a monument erected over his grave with an inscription upon it in honor of his donation to the Hospital. He was singular in the manner in which he arranged his clothes, and many other matters, in four or five trunks which he left behind him. In several different bags and boxes were found Six hundred dollars in gold, among which were fifty new English guineas neatly wrapped in separate pieces of paper as if to prevent the diminution of their value by attrition against each other. Wrapped up with equal care in separate pieces of paper were found parcels of rusty nails, pieces of wax, cork, some punk, hasps of doors, and fifty other things of no more value. And that he might appear a nondescript in everything he died of a singular disease. He was buried January 2d, 1808, in the garden of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

1808

February

Dr. Alexander Ramsay brought me a letter of introduction from Mr. Robert Liston. He had been educated in Edinborough where he taught Anatomy by dissection. He came to this country to investigate the cause of the yellow fever, he gave six lectures in New York and six in Philadelphia upon what he called the natural theology of the human body. These lectures were desultory, incoherent and a melange of natural history, metaphysics, morals and religion, but they were now and then illumined by a striking fact and bold flights of genius. His person was short and deformed and his manner comic. From the latter arose much of the entertainment he gave his hearers, who amounted to two hundred in number. In private conversation he was more regular and coherent, and instructed as well as pleased. He appeared to be amiable and inoffensive. He was vain but his vanity was more the fault of his head than his heart. He was about forty years of age.

March 19

Died my venerable and excellent Preceptor in medicine, Dr. John Redman, aged eighty-six years and nearly one month. His death was induced by an apoplexy which continued twenty-two hours.

May 5

This day sent a check to Mr. Coates for $351.63½ for the Pennsylvania Hospital, with the following note: "Dear Sir: I enclose you a check for $351.63½ for the use of the Pennsylvania Hospital, being a sum of money bequeathed to me by the late Charles Nichols to be applied to charitable purposes. With great respect for yourself and your colleagues in the management of the institution committed to your care, I am dear sir, your and their friend and brother,

BENJAMIN RUSH."

1808

May 25

This evening died Dr. James Reynolds. He was an exile from Ireland upon account of his Democratic principles. He possessed talents and knowledge and was very popular among his countrymen. Company, losses and disappointments drove him to drink and he died in consequence of it.

July 11

This day at six o'clock in the evening died at his country-seat near Germantown, aged seventy-two years, Dr. William Shippen. His disease was introduced by an anthrax. His last symptoms were a diarrhœa and soreness in the œsophagus which rendered swallowing painful. He had talents but which from disuse became weak. He was too indolent to write, to read, and even to think, but with the stock of knowledge he acquired when young maintained some rank in his profession, especially as a teacher of Anatomy, in which he was eloquent, luminous and pleasing. He lived chiefly in convivial company in which he was always a welcome and agreeable member. His chief pleasure consisted in the enjoyments of the table. To these and to young company he retained an attachment till within a few years of his death, when a vertigo obliged him to alter his manner of living. At this time he became thoughtful and inquisitive upon the subject of his future state. He retained his reason but not his speech to the last hour of his life and gave signs to certain questions that were proposed to him. That he died a believer in the Gospel and that all his hopes of happiness were founded upon the merits of Jesus Christ. I attended him in his last illness.

Sept.

This month died my worthy friend and correspondent, John Montgomery, Esquire, of Carlisle, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was a man of sound sense

1808

and great zeal in the cause of religion and learning. The College of Carlisle was indebted greatly to his labors for its existence. He retained his faculties and continued his usefulness to the last week of his life. His two last letters to me written a few weeks before his death discovered not the least decay of intellect. Blest Saint, adieu!

Oct. 28

Last night died my wife's aunt, Mrs. Hannah Boudinot, wife of Elias Boudinot, at Burlington, in the seventy-second year of her age. She was an excellent woman and a shining example of Christian virtue and piety. She never took the least part in her husband's nefarious attempt to rob me of my character and Thomas Bradford of his property.

Nov. 16

This evening Dr. Crawford of Baltimore drank tea with me. He said his father was a clergyman in Ireland and that from 30 a year salary with the product of a glebe he had given four sons liberal educations and professions and left two daughters each £500 sterling. The Doctor said he had lost all his business by propagating an unpopular opinion in medicine, namely, that all diseases were occasioned by animalculæ. He said he was sixty-two years of age and not worth a cent, but in debt.

Dec. 12

This evening met twenty-five citizens at Mr. Ralston's for the purpose of establishing a Bible Society. At the request of three or four gentlemen I opened the business of the meeting. A Constitution was then offered which was subscribed by all the company present with great zeal and cordiality. Bishop White presided at this meeting. Two previous meetings were held at Mr. Ralston's to prepare the business for the above meeting, at which were present Mr. Ralston, the Rev. Messrs. Archibald Alexander, Jacob Janeway and Benjamin Rush.

1809

May 15

To-day the particulars of a duel were published in several newspapers. The name of one of the parties, Sir George Maclin, and the initials and finals of the names of one of the seconds and the surgeons and the cause and place of the duel and the wounds given to each party were all mentioned. The account excited general attention. Upon inquiry there was not a word of truth in it.

May 20

This day Mr. John Murdock informed me that Mr. T. Francis had informed him that one of the Priests of the Catholic Church had brought him one thousand dollars which he said had been stolen from him, Francis, by one of his clerks many years ago. Mr. Francis did not suspect any person who had lived with him and had not missed the money thus restored. Another subject of conversation at this time was the marriage between a Mrs. Smith, a wealthy widow with two children, of respectable family, and her overseer. She was universally censured for it. "There are three subjects," says Dr. Franklin, "which interest a man's self only, and yet there are no three subjects the world interests itself more in, namely: building a house, marrying a wife, and making a will. Marriages give offense to the public in the following order: First, no fortune on either side; second, great inferiority of age on the woman's side; third, great ditto on the man's side; fourth, great inequality of rank, and fifth, diversity of color. The latter excites horror."

May 22

This day the following gentlemen, members of the General Assembly then sitting in Philadelphia, dined with me, namely: the Rev. Dr. Dwight, Dr. Davidson, Dr. Green, Mr. Cathcart, Mr. Pincon of Connecticut, Mr. Huff of Vermont, Mr. Romaine of New York, and Samuel Bayard and John Creigh. They were excellent company.

1809

They walked in the garden after dinner and admired it. I remarked upon what they said, *Deus nobit haec otia fecit*, and that this was not the Babylon I had built, I owed it wholly to the goodness of God.

June 5

This day died of an apoplexy succeeded by a palsy induced six days before at night, Dr. James Woodhouse, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. He was a neat experimenter but was averse from principles in chemistry. A person of genius who heard several of his lectures said he was a mere factotum, meaning that his lectures contained nothing but facts. He was an open and rude infidel and often offended or shocked by his abuse of Christianity, he even threw out at times insinuations against it in his lectures. His opinions and conduct were regulated by Rochefoucault's maxims. His manners were gross and vulgar. He was my pupil and assisted me in my labors in 1793, in consequence of which I procured him by my influence his Professorship. He was not only ungrateful but he united with my enemies and became the most indecent among them. I never resented his behavior but always treated him with civility. He was attached to no human being, spoke ill of everybody and lived at variance with his own relations. He was intemperate for several years before he died. I attended him in his last illness. Before the attack of apoplexy he was sensible but unable to speak. Though a medical professor he scouted the utility of medicine upon all occasions.

June 8

Thursday. Thomas Paine died at New York. He was the author of "Common Sense," "Rights of Man," "Age of Reason," and many other political and Deistical publications. I knew him well soon after his arrival in America in 1773, at which time he was unfriendly to the

claims of America. He wrote his "Common Sense" at my request. I gave it it's name. He possessed a wonderful talent of writing to the tempers and feelings of the public. His compositions though full of original and splendid imagery were always adapted to common capacities. He was intemperate and otherwise debauched in private life. His vanity appeared in everything he did or said. He once said "He was at a loss to know whether he was made for the times or the times made for him." His "Age of Reason" probably perverted more persons from the Christian faith than any book that ever was written for the same purpose. Its extensive mischief was owing to the popular, perspicuous and witty style in which it was written and to its constant appeals to the feelings and tempers of his readers.

DEATH OF THOMAS PAINE

From the *New York Gazette.*

The celebrated Thomas Paine is no more.—This unfortunate being has passed through many a checkered scene and felt a sad vicissitude of fortune.—Yet, his life and writings have had powerful influence on the strange and wonderful events which have distinguished the present age.—Though his birth was humble, and his manners were ungracious, he had been long noticed by the courtly and the great, and long caressed by the splendid and the rich. Though his education was scanty and imperfect, such was his love of knowledge, and such was his progress in the arts of composition, that his manly and persuasive style has been imitated and admired by men of literary reputation.

Without the assistance of patrons or of friends, he found an easy access to the cabinet of statesmen, and his creative spirit has been often revoked from the recesses of obscurity, to impart those counsels which have guided the

destinies of nations. Such, indeed, was the power of his genius, that the encumbrances of fortune were shaken from his mind like "dew drops from the lion's mane," and the portals of fame were opened at his call.—But alas, poor human nature! with the faculties of an angel were connected the dispositions of a fiend.—In him was united all the splendor with all the self-sufficiency of exalted talents. In the pride of his heart, and in the fullness of his own importance, he proved a traitor to his Country and his God. Abandoned to his corrupt and wayward fancy, he endeavored to sap the foundations of public and private happiness. A victim to impiety and depraved passions, he had the folly and madness to "defy Omnipotence to arms." Here finishes his career of glory—and here commenced a life of misery and contempt. Here we must drop the veil, for there remains nothing but deformity and ruined greatness.—*N. Y. Gaz.*

June 8

This day my wife and daughter Julia set off on their journey to Canada to visit my two daughters there. They were accompanied by my son James to New York. Began this day to copy my notes on Dr. Sydenham and finished them on the 16th of the same month.

June 22 & 24

Finished the notes on Dr. Cleghorn. Wrote the dedications July 13th and 14th.

June 26

This evening died in the seventy-sixth year of his age my excellent friend and patient Henry Drinker. He was a man of uncommon understanding and great suavity and correctness of manners. He possessed talents and judgment in business which would have qualified him for

the office of a Secretary of State. He was an Elder in the Society of Friends, by whom he was universally esteemed and beloved. His life was peaceable and his death equally so. Dear friend, adieu!

July 7

This day Colonel Pickering dined with me with J. Hopkinson.

July 10

This day Dr. John Redman Coxe was elected Professor of Chemistry in the room of Dr. Woodhouse, deceased. The Trustees, nineteen in number, voted as follows: Dr. Coxe 10 votes; Robert Hare, 7; Dr. Sybert, 2.

July 14

This day my dear son James Rush embarked for Greenock on his way to Edinborough on board the brig Isabella, Captain Newcomb. He was accompanied by Dr. Thomas Fuller of Beaufort, South Carolina, a nephew of Major Butler.

Aug. 25

This morning my son Richard set off with his brother Samuel for Maryland to be married to Miss Murray.

Sept. 2

Heard this day of the death of the Rev. Dr. John Hay. This clergyman came to Philadelphia about five years ago, strongly recommended for piety, zeal and talent. His object was to establish a settlement of English emigrants in the new lands of Pennsylvania. Upon preaching in all the Presbyterian Churches he became known and so popular as to draw a number of persons after him, chiefly English Dissenters, who built a Church for him called the Tabernacle, in which he officiated for a year or two much

1809

to the satisfaction of his hearers. He was sensible, logical, well acquainted with the Scriptures and remarkably perspicuous in all his discourses. His principles were highly Calvinistical. I once heard him say from the pulpit, "A Christian had no fears of falling from grace, this was impossible, he only feared losing the light of God's countenance." In the height of his popularity as a preacher and a saint he attached himself to a rich widow belonging to his Church and after obtaining the title to and the possession of her estate of $10,000 he seduced her and had a child by her. He had a wife and five children nearly all adults at this time. To his wife it appeared afterwards he had been unkind and even cruel. One of his sons accompanied him in the desertion of his family. While living in a state of concubinage with the woman he had seduced he rode with her and his child by her through the streets of Philadelphia regardless alike of public opinion and of the public eye. From remorse, or some other cause, he took to drink and in about three months destroyed himself by it. He died deranged at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, so reduced as to be obliged to sell his concubine's paternal plate in order to support himself. Alas, the sad effects of wordly enterprises in Ministers of the Gospel, Antinomian principles in a Christian. Dr. Hay was destroyed by them.

Sept. 4

This day my son Richard returned with his bride. I assured her when I received her that I should consider her not as an adopted but as my own child.

Sept. 6

This day my wife and daughter Julia returned from Canada, in travelling fifteen hundred miles by land and water they were not once in any real danger nor even alarmed with any supposed danger, nor was either indisposed a day during their absence. What cause of gratitude and praise to the Giver of all good.

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Sept. 11

This day the Rev. Mr. Jer. Atwater with his wife, sister and three children, came to my house on their way to Carlisle where Mr. Atwater was about to preside over the College. They left us on the 13th, Wednesday. Mr. Atwater appeared to be learned, well-read, pious, and heartily disposed to enter upon his duties as Principal of the College with zeal and disinterestedness. He is now thirty-five years of age. Long, long may he live, a blessing to science, religion and to all the best interests of our country!

Oct. 8

This day heard from Dr. Lockrey that Prof. Atwater was well pleased with Carlisle and gave great satisfaction to the Trustees of the College and the inhabitants of Carlisle. Mr. Atwater, in a letter I received from him, says he is not in a land of strangers and that he is at home at Carlisle.

Oct. 9

This day read an account of the arrival of the vessel in Greenock in which my son James went a passenger on his way to Edinborough, for which I desire to be sincerely thankful.

Oct. 15

This day died of the yellow fever in the thirty-eighth year of his age Dr. James Stuart, a native of Virginia, educated and graduated in medicine in the University of Pennsylvania and a man of respectable talent and considerable learning. By great industry and by attention to the poor without a single family connection he got into business of $3000. a year. In his last illness he was perfectly sensible, appeared to be unwilling only and not afraid to die. He made a Will and directed the place and manner in which he wished to be buried. I asked him if

1809

he would receive the visits of a clergyman. He said, "No," the very thought of them disgusted him. I asked him if he was a believer in the Christian religion. He said he was a believer but in God. Here our conversation ended. He was attended by a woman who was his mistress, with whom he had lived secretly for many years. Christianity was the aggressor here and the hostility he expressed to its Ministers.

November

Died Robert Montgomery, aged thirty-eight. He was the inheritor of a large estate from his father and grandfather, which had been accumulated by the latter by the most extraordinary arts of economy and meanness. His contracted spirit descended in his family. His grandson was expensive in his pleasures but wanted generosity and charity. Upon his deathbed he lamented that he had been neglected in his education and that no restraint had ever been laid upon his inclinations, and on the early death of his father and his want of obedience to his mother. He left no issue but divided his estate among his relations and public institutions. To one of his poor relations, to whom he once refused a dollar for market money, he left four thousand dollars, perhaps to ease his conscience from its reproaches upon that unkind act.

During November and December was frequently visited by Mr. Joseph Roxas, a native of Mexico, a young man of uncommon talents and acquirements. He attended a course of my lectures and took notes of them.

1810

Jany. 20

This day died aged eighty-seven Benjamin Chew, Esq. He had held many offices under the old Proprietary Government, all of which he filled with ability and integrity. His influence in the executive part of the Government during the administration of James Hamilton and

1810

John Penn had no bounds. He enjoyed during his whole life the most unexampled exemption from domestic affliction. He never lost but one child and left twelve adult children behind him, all above thirty years of age, and all amiable, dutiful, and affectionately devoted to him. With his wife he passed nearly fifty years in uninterrupted conjugal felicity. His last years only were marked with disease and pain, in which he discovered great impatience and no solicitude about his future state.

Feby. 3

This day my son John Rush arrived from New Orleans in a state of deep melancholy brought on by killing a brother officer in the Navy in a duel between two and three years ago, who was his intimate friend.

Feby. 8

This morning died Mrs. Providence Kennard, an eminently pious patient of mine. Upon seeing some of her friends whispering at her fireside as she lay in her bed, she said, "If you are talking of death and eternity speak out, I love the sound of those words." She left an affectionate husband and eight children behind her.

April

During this month prepared nine additional introductory and two lectures upon the pleasures of the senses and of the mind, for the press, and recomposed a new syllabus of my lectures.

April 7

This day died Mary Cobb, aged eighty-four, an old and faithful domestic of the late Judge Shippen. A year or two before her death she said to me, "Doctor, if ever I should die Mr. Burd will pay your bill for your attendance upon me." On her death-bed she complained that she was dying in the prime of her life. She left money to the amount of Fifteen hundred dollars behind her.

1810

April 21

This day began to read Pringle's works with a reference to publishing notes upon them. Finished them in a few days and finished Lind on the Diseases of Warm Climates.

May 3

Read Pringle's works for the same purpose.

May 4

Received a visit from Charles Thompson. He told me he was in his eighty-first year and enjoyed good health. His conversation was sprightly and entertaining. He told me he delivered General Washington his commission in 1774 with his own hand by order of Congress and received it from the General when he gave it back to Congress at the close of the Revolutionary War. He gave me a minute account of the time and manner of his coming to America, which was when he was ten years old. He was educated at Dr. Allison's school at New London. While there he walked to Philadelphia, forty-five miles, to buy a set of the Spectator which was read with great pleasure by himself and schoolmates. He was induced to translate the Septuagint in order to relieve his mind from the distress felt after the war was over from the feebleness of the old Confederation and its incompetency to preserve the union of the States. The copy of the Septuagint, he said, was obtained in the following manner. He went to an auction of books in the year 1766 where one-half the Septuagint was exposed to sale. He bought it for sixpence or ninepence. The next year he went to the same auction room where he bought the remaining half of that work for a trifle. He got them neatly bound together and afterwards read in it, particularly in the Prophecy of Isaiah, which was the first part of the Old Testament he translated. He said he had composed a work to show the harmony of the four Evangelists at the time of an event which was then in the hands of Thomas Dobson.

1810

May 4

This day sent a copy of the third edition of my inquiries to John Adams, Esquire, at Petersburg, by Mr. Hodge, whom I introduced to him, to be made public in Russia in any way he thought proper.

May 15

This day saw the Rev. Mr. Hooker at Mr. Ralston's. He informed me that his father-in-law, Timothy Edwards, had requested him to call upon some of his neighboring Ministers in Connecticut and to set apart a certain time once a week to pray in confederacy for the conversion of Colonel Burr, now a vagabond in Europe. The Colonel is nephew to Timothy Edwards and first cousin to Mrs. Hooker. This day finished "Pathological Remarks upon certain Diseases of the Liver," for Dr. Coxe's Museum, and an inquiry into the use of the Thyne's gland for Dr. Miller's New York Repository.

May 17

This day Dr. Morse, wife and son, the Rev. Mr. Hooker and wife of New England and Miss Thomas and Miss Beach of South Carolina, dined with me. Mrs. Hooker charmed my whole family with her piety, good sense and dignified manner. She is one of eleven full grown children. No one of the descendants of her grandfather sustains the clerical character.

May 24

This day I had the pleasure of the company of the following members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to dine with me, namely: The Rev. Dr. Green, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Reis, Mr. Colhoun, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Potts and Mr. Ogden, an Elder of Mr. McDowell's Church at Elizabethtown.

1810

May 30

Last night died William Ball in the eighty-first year of his age. By great parsimony he accumulated an estate of nearly Six hundred thousand dollars, all of which was real property, for he had no confidence in bonds nor in any of the moneyed institutions of the City. He was so avaricious that he denied himself all of the comforts and some of the necessaries of life. He refused to receive a prescription from his physician unless it were written in English that he might obtain its separate ingredients at different drug stores at the cheapest possible rates and mix them himself. He dreaded death and was always offended if any of his family asked him how he was as it implied that he did not look well and of course reminded him of his mortality. He had no children. He left his estate to a brother's son whom he had adopted, and passed by a sister and all her children who had never offended him.

June 13

This day the Rev. Mr. Sergeant informed me that a young man who attended my lectures about six years ago by the name of Lattimer, who had been a Deist, was first convinced of the error of his opinions by something delivered by me in one of my lectures incidentally. This conviction which followed him to the Natches where he settled for a while as a physician and from whence he was sent as a delegate to Congress, ended finally in his conversion and he is now a Minister of the Gospel.

July 4

Went with my sons Samuel and William to the banks of the Schuylkill four miles from town where we took coffee. While it was preparing I visited a woman of eighty-one years of age, named Britton, in the neighborhood. She was the daughter of French parents but born in Germany. She had been near sixty years in America, during which time she had had thirteen children, ten of

whom had lived to marry and bear children. Nine of them were dead and the surviving one lived three hundred miles from her. She had thirteen great grandchildren. She had long suffered from a pain in her back which confined her to her bed. God Almighty, she said, put it into her head to use garlic infused in mint water for it. She did so and it cured her.

July 26

This morning died Mrs. Haw, of the Society of Friends. She had been my patient above thirty years. She was sensible and had taste and elegance in conversation. In one of my visits to her she said as I entered her room, "Here comes my physician, my friend, my opium," alluding by the last epithet she applied to me to the relief my medicines gave her. The night before she died she expressed a strong hope and faith in her Redeemer and said she believed her robes were washed and made white in His blood.

July 28

This evening was visited by a Christian Turk, a native of Jerusalem. He was dressed in the Turkish habit. He said Jerusalem contained 17,000 inhabitants. That some of the stones of Solomon's Temple were still to be seen near where it stood. That 15,000 persons came annually to worship at Jerusalem. He described the Garden of Gethsemane and Mount Calvary, on the summit of which and over the sepulcher of our Saviour were built large churches. While travellers have in vain sought for the spot in Asia where Man fell, it is pleasing to reflect that the place where he was redeemed is known and that both nature and art by their monuments which time has not been able to deface or destroy bear witness to the truth of the history of His crucifixion.

1810

August 7

This day visited the Rev. Dr. Tennent at Abingdon, whom I found full of peace and hope on what he supposed to be his death-bed. On my way home I dined with Dr. Rodgers at Dr. Moore's very pleasantly. I called to see an old woman of eighty-one years of age, at the request of Dr. Moore, near his house, of the name of Martha Martin, who knew my father. She told me she was born on the next plantation to his at Biberry, and that her father used to say of him he would as soon take John Rush's word as any other man's bond.

August 10

Called upon the Rev. Mr. Sergeant, a Methodist Minister, and suggested to him the possibility of establishing a Methodist Congregation and Church in the Neck, a few miles below the City, where the population was thick and where there was no Church of any kind. He was much pleased with the proposal and said he would immediately lay it before his brethren who were to meet that night upon other business. During this month died William Falconer, aged eighty-nine, a venerable and excellent saint, and an Elder of Dr. Green's Church. He died of weakness and old age. I visited him during his confinement previously to his death. His conversation was sensible, pleasant and full of anecdotes of good and great men, particularly of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, whom he knew seventy years ago. He considered the smallest benefits mercies.

October 2

Charles Thompson dined with me. He was in his eighty-first year. He was animated, cheerful and full of anecdote. He said he lived between four and five years as a scholar in the house of the Rev. Dr. Allison when a young man. That he never saw him smile nor in a good humor during that time. That Dr. Allison once asked

1810

him what were the decrees of God. That he answered he did not know. "What," said the Doctor, "you do not know your catechism?" "No," said Mr. Thompson, "I do not." When Mr. Thompson is asked what sect he is of, he answers, "Of none, I am a Christian. I believe only in the Scriptures and in Jesus Christ, my Saviour." He was once a Presbyterian and worshipped in Market Street, but left that Society in consequence of discovering a malignant and unforgiving temper in Dr. Ewing. He said he had supped with old Edward Shippen in the room in which we dined in 1750, sixty years before.

Oct. 7

Died this day Mrs. Mary Watson, a most accomplished schoolmistress. She was dignified and correct in her manner, feared, respected and beloved by her scholars, and eminently qualified for her station. The whole City lamented her premature death.

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August 26

At one o'clock this morning died of a broken heart my excellent friend, Thomas Fitzimmons, Esquire, in the seventieth year of his age. Few such men have lived or died. From an obscure mechanic he became not only one of the most enlightened and intelligent merchants in the United States but a correct English scholar and a man of extensive reading upon all subjects. He filled many important stations both in the general and State Governments with great reputation during the Revolutionary War. His opinions upon all questions connected with the commerce of our country were always regarded with respect and even homage by his fellow-citizens. In private life he was truly amiable; hundreds owe their establishment in various occupations in business to his advice and good offices. His friendship was steady, sincere and disinterested. He had firmness upon all occasions except

1811

one, and that was when his friends solicited favors from him; from his inability to resist the importunities and even the sight of distress he suffered a reverse of fortune in the evening of his life. Even in this situation his mind retained its native energy and his heart its native goodness, and hence it may be truly said that notwithstanding all his many and immense losses he died rich in the esteem, affection and gratitude of all classes of his fellow-citizens.

August 27

This morning died my much valued friend, Joseph Clay, Esq., Cashier of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank, in the forty-second year of his age. This gentleman, by early and patient study, laid up a large stock of knowledge in all the various branches of science, particularly in languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and politics, from which he became not only a useful member of society, but a pleasing and instructive companion to a numerous and affectionate circle of friends. In public, no less than in private life, there was a benignity in his temper and manners that always delighted and charmed. His profound but luminous mind shed light upon every subject upon which he spoke. Beloved by all who knew him he was particularly dear in his domestic connections. Here language fails us. Sighs and tears speak the rest.

> "O Death all eloquent you only prove
> What dust we dote on when 'tis man we love."

In the list of the illustrious men prominent for talents, knowledge and public and private virtue in Pennsylvania the historian would be unjust who does not give Mr. Clay a distinguished rank among them.

Sept. 2

This day I received a handsome ring from the Emperor of Russia by the hands of William Lynch of

Philadelphia, to whom it was given in charge by J. Q. Adams, Minister from the United States to the Court of Petersburg. It was presented to me as a mark of the satisfaction of the Emperor with my medical works presented to him by Mr. J. Q. Adams.

Sept. 13

Three packets have arrived from England; two from London in Philadelphia, one in New York from the same place, and several from Liverpool, both in New York, without bringing me a letter or even a message from my son Dr. James Rush and my daughter Mary Manners, who were both in London at the time those vessels sailed. The distress I have felt in being thus disappointed, neglected and ungratefully treated by two children upon whom I had lavished acts of paternal kindness has been to me very great. It has prevented my sleeping and impaired my health. Lord, lay not this conduct to their charge.

Oct. 11

This day I received a letter from my son Dr. James Rush dated New York October 8th, informing me of his arrival there with his sister and her two children, after a very tempestuous and dangerous voyage from Bristol of eight weeks. Had they perished at sea their family would have been ignorant of their fate for many months, for they had neglected to inform them of the ship in which they had sailed as well as the time of their sailing. Blessed be God for their preservation!

November

Branch Green informed me that in a school lately opened in the Northern Liberties by the Rev. Mr. May, consisting of one hundred and twenty children of different ages, up to ten years, not more than twenty knew who made them.

1811

Nov. 23

This day it was announced in the "National Intelligencer" that my son Richard Rush was appointed Comptroller of the United States, and to my great astonishment and distress on November 25th he set off for Washington to accept of it. I dissuaded him from doing so from the following considerations: First. The degradation to which such an office exposed a man of literary and professional talents. It was an office that could be filled by any clerk of a bank. Second. The vexations and poverty of political life. Third. His comfortable establishment and excellent prospects in Pennsylvania, the State of his ancestors and family. Fourth. The sickliness of Washington and the insufficiency of the salary to support a growing family. Fifth. The dishonor which he would do to his understanding by such an act. Sixth. My age, also my young family, which required his advice now and would still more require it after my death. I offered to implore him not to accept of the appointment upon my knees, but all, all to no purpose. Oh, my son, my son Richard, may you never be made to feel in the unkindness of a son the misery you have inflicted upon me by this rash conduct. He was dissuaded from it by all his friends and was blamed for it by most of the citizens of Philadelphia who knew him.

Dec. 6

General Henry Lee called upon me and requested me to introduce him to two Spanish gentlemen from the Caraccas. He informed me that in visiting the western parts of Virginia, Rock Ridge County, last Summer, he was entertained by a farmer of the name of Campbell who had lived thirty years with twenty in the family without a single death or birth in it. There were three married pairs on his farm, negroes, besides himself and wife, who had lived together thirty years without issue.

1811

December 11

This day died of Arthritic fever, aged fifty-nine, Peter Browne. He had been my patient about thirty years and my sincere friend and advocate under all my medical persecutions. Few men lived or died more beloved in all the relations of life. He was patriotic, benevolent, generous and charitable, and in the latter part of his life piously disposed. I loved him much and most affectionately deplored his death.

Dec. 30

This day my son and his family set off for Washington to enter upon the labor of the humble office he had preferred to the respectable and professional office he held in Pennsylvania. This day also the awful news of the burning of the theatre in Richmond, Virginia, reached this City, in which above sixty persons, among whom was the Governor of Virginia and many other persons of note, perished. It took place on the 26th of this month.

1812

February

This month I received a letter from the President of the Imperial Academy of Medicine in Petersburg, informing me that I was elected a member of the said Society.

Feb. 29

This day I finished my lectures. During the whole course it pleased God to give me such a degree of health that I did not disappoint my pupils a single day. For the last two weeks I lectured twice a day, five days of each week. I have reason to believe my pupils were satisfied with my lectures. For this favor I desire to be thankful to that Being who alone giveth favor in the eyes of men.

During the Summer of 1812 I employed myself in transcribing my lectures and in preparing a volume of inquiries &c. on the diseases of the mind, for the press.

1812

Oct. 27

This evening corrected the last proof sheet of my Inquiries. I was frequently visited during the month of October by Baron von Sach, a Prussian Nobleman, a modest, well-informed gentleman. I gave him, at his request, two of my pamphlets and a letter in favor of the domestic origin of the yellow fever. He was a believer in Revelation, and told a pleasant story of Robespierre, who on one occasion said the world was made by chance and that there was no hell. "But suppose," said someone, "there should be a hell made by chance, what then?" Robespierre became confused and silent at this question.

Novr. 28

This evening died in his chair reading the newspaper John Dunlap, aged between sixty and seventy years. From small beginnings as a printer he acquired by his business, but chiefly by speculation, an estate of perhaps three or four hundred thousand dollars. So humble was his beginning in life that he slept upon a blanket under his counter and ate pepper-pot only bought in the market from his inability to purchase a bed or any other food. He was a staunch Revolutionary Whig, and active as a dragoon in the most perilous stages of the war. In the parties which divided his country he was always moderate, candid and just to both sides. To public institutions he was liberal, to the poor charitable and to his friends kind and affectionate. In his family he was less amiable and respectable than in society. Towards the close of his life he became intemperate so as to fall in the streets. He was early and uniformly my friend.

Dec. 2

This day died Dr. Magan, in about the seventy-third year of his age. He lived many years after the loss of his memory from the palsy in good health and even became fat. He was esteemed an excellent scholar, a profound divine and a good man.

1812

Dec. 15

This day I received Twenty dollars from Mrs. Bravo, from Jamaica, for attendance upon her husband who died in this City. I did not expect a payment of this bill, having seldom and perhaps never received payment of a bill under equal circumstances. Mrs. Bravo was a Jewess.

1813

Jany. 23

Died at his son's, Henry Clymer's, near Trenton, George Clymer, Esquire, aged seventy-four. Long my patient and friend and from whose company I derived more pleasure and from whose conversation I derived more instruction than from any citizen of Philadelphia. The following short sketch of his character was published by me a few days after his death:

"Another of the Revolutionary patriots of Pennsylvania is gone. He has followed to the grave Franklin, Morris, Fitzimmons, Reed, Mifflin, Biddle, Wilson, Nixon, Cadwalader, Rittenhouse, and others of his distinguished colleagues, in the dangers and labours of the years 1774-5-6. It will scarcely be necessary to add that the patriot alluded to is the late George Clymer. This illustrious citizen was admirably qualified for all the stations he filled during the war which gave independence to the United States, and since its termination by a mind exquisitely sensible of the blessings of liberty and enlightened in the principle of equal and just government by extensive reading and habits of deep reflection. All those subjects which were connected with national happiness and honour, whether they embraced the agriculture, the manufactures, the commerce, the fine arts, or the morals of his country were alike familiar to him, and his life was devoted to their cultivation and improvement. In social life he possessed a peculiar talent for instructing and pleasing in conversation by the originality of his ideas upon all sub-

jects and by the novelty of the dress he gave to such as were common. With this talent he united at all times the charm of an unassuming and artless manner. There was no chasm in the circle of his virtues. In domestic life he was as much beloved as a husband and a father as he was respected by his country as her benefactor and friend. In short,

> 'The colors of expression are too faint,
> Let thought describe what thought alone can paint.
> Think what the patriot, sage and man should be
> You've then his character, for such was he.'"

BENJAMIN RUSH

Instructions to My Son, James Rush, Upon His Going Abroad June, 1809.

1. Commit yourself and all that you are interested in daily to the protection of your Maker, Preserver and bountiful Benefactor. Keep a Journal from the day you leave Philadelphia in which insert all the physical facts you hear in conversation, the companies you go into and interesting matters you hear in them, with the names of each of them when small and select. The days on which you begin a new book or enter upon any new study or business. The subjects of sermons, speeches, &c. Avoid lodging in houses where there are handsome young ladies. Avoid particular attentions &c. where you visit.

2. Attend public worship. Avoid driving out in large companies on Sundays. Attend the Courts, General Assembly, and Debating Societies.

3. Converse on medicine with physicians as much as possible; find out what new medicines or new forms of old medicines they are in the habit of giving.

4. Keep in a separate book an account of your expenditures, contracts, &c. Preserve all your receipts. Also finally recollect the saying of Sir John Baynard to his son when he set out on his travels: "Remember while you are in the world the world sees you." Also the saying of Israel Pemberton to your father in 1766: "Keep older and wiser company than thyself." Also of George Dilwyn to B. Chew, Jr., "Remember thou hast a character to lose."

THOUGHTS

(1.) Dr. Witherspoon says, "All men are found out before they die." I deny it. Some men are not found out till after death and many will not be fully known till the day of Judgment.

Headings of an Eulogium on Death

(2.) 1. It relieves unhappy and discontented husbands and wives.

2. It relieves children of parents who keep them too long out of their estates.

3. It relieves physicians of incurable patients.

4. It relieves nations of tyrannical Kings and blundering Ministers who are so riveted either in force or in delusion upon the minds of the people that there is no other way of getting rid of them.

5. It relieves the world of old men who keep the minds of men in chains to old prejudices. These men do not die half fast enough. Few clergymen, physicians or lawyers beyond sixty do any good in the world, on the contrary they check innovation and improvement.

(3.) Guilt, Debt and Bad Health are the greatest evils in the world and perhaps the only proper sources of misery. They are evil in the order in which they are mentioned.

(4.) Quakers impose the same restraint upon taste which the Roman Catholics impose on sexual appetite. The prohibition of music, etc., is like the prohibition of celibacy in nunneries and monasteries.

(5.) How apt we are to mistake means for ends. Gold and silver the means of enjoyment become objects of it. Dress, the means of warmth becomes the object of pride. Eating is the means of life not the end.

(6.) Burke's character of a merchant: "Gold is his god." "The Exchange is his church. His counting house is his altar, an invoice his Bible, and his only trust is in his Banker."

(7.) Many people make good breeding consist as much in forms as they do Religion. Manners are mistaken for the former as much as ceremonies for the latter.

(8.) Men who differ, though right in all their opinions, from the age or people in and among which they live suffer from their singularity just as men do in a city whose watches go correctly with the sun while all the other watches in the city go with an old and erroneous town clock.

(9.) We never acquire knowledge to direct our conduct from history nor biography nor from the experience of other people nor even from our own experience unless repeated two or three times.

(10.) If time is tedious in proportion to suffering then the pains of hell may well be said to be eternal though only temporary. The Marquis of Mirabeau who died of an acute and painful disease in his bowels said in his last hours that "he endured in a moment the pangs of a thousand years."

(11.) Hostility is most intense where there is most obligation.

(12.) The pen, the pencil, the chisel and the brush from habit partake of the genius that directs them and now and then, as it were, involuntarily strike off beauties which were not intended by the hand that guided them and which cannot be imitated afterwards even by their authors.

(13.) Change or novelty is so natural to man that he rejects even truth after a while and embraces error, only because it is new.

PART III

A Short History of the Rush Family in Pennsylvania

An Account

of the

Descendants

of

John and Susanna Rush

who migrated from

Oxfordshire, England

and settled at

Byberry, Pennsylvania

in

1683

the year after the arrival of

William Penn

Copied from an original Mss. in the handwriting of
DR. BENJAMIN RUSH

I

JOHN RUSH

John Rush commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's Army, and was personally known to him. After the war he married Susanna Lucas at Horton in Oxfordshire, June 8th, 1648. He embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1660, and came to Pennsylvania in 1683 and settled in Byberry, 13 miles from Philadelphia. In 1691 he and his whole family left the Quakers and became Keithians. In 1697 they became Baptists. He died at Byberry in 1699, aged about 80. His Horseman's sword is in possession of Jacob Rush, and his watch in that of General Darke of Virginia.

He had issue as appears by a Record in his own handwriting taken from his family bible, now in the possession of Benjamin Rush, A. D. 1869:

1. Elizabeth born June 16, 1649.
2. William born July 21, 1652.
3. Thomas born November 7, 1654, and died in London on the 18th of 4th month, 1676.
4. John born 1st of 3d month, 1660.
5. Francis born 8th of 2d month, 1662, died childless under 30 years of age.
6. James born 21st of 7th month, 1664, died 21st of 1st month and was buried at Banbury.
7. Joseph born 26th of 10th month, 1666, died in childhood.
8. Edward born 27th of 9th month, 1670, died childless under 30 years of age.
9. Jane born 27th of 12th month, 1673-4.

Elizabeth Rush, eldest child of John and Susanna Rush, married Richard Collet May 27th, 1680, in London, and came with her husband to Pennsylvania, in the same ship with William Penn, in 1682. They settled on 500 acres of land in Byberry, 200 of which are now owned by Captain , and 200 by two of their grandchildren viz. Elizabeth Messer and Mary Peart. Their issue were:—

1. John.
2. Mary.
3. Rachel.

Rachel Collet, married Benjamin Peart and had issue:—

1. Thomas.
2. William.
3. Elizabeth.
4. Mary.
5. Bryan.

Thomas Peart, eldest son of Benjamin and Rachel Peart, had issue:—

1. William.
2. Edmund.
3. John.
4. Thomas.
5. Bryan.
6. Rachel.
7. Elizabeth.
8. Rachel.

William Peart, second son of Benjamin and Rachel Peart, had issue, seven children.

Elizabeth Peart, eldest daughter of Benjamin and Rachel Peart, married Willard and had issue:—

1. Mary.
2. Elizabeth.
3. Rachel.
4. Mary.
5. Jonathan.

and by her second husband Messer, she had issue:

1. Thomas, who had issue twelve children, and
2. Ann.

Bryan Peart, fifth child of Benjamin and Rachel Peart, had issue:—

1. Benjamin.
2. Rebecca.
3. Thomas.

II

WILLIAM RUSH

William Rush, the eldest son (second child) of John and Susanna Rush. Born 1652, married in England Aurelia , and they had issue:—

1. Susanna, born 1675.
2. Elizabeth, born 1677.
3. James, born 1679.

Aurelia Rush, wife of William Rush, was buried at "Harts on the creek Poquesy" in 1683, and her husband William in 1688. In 1786 this ancient cemetery of one acre was bequeathed by one of Hart's heirs to the Township of Byberry for a burying place for the inhabitants forever. In this place James Rush, son of William Rush, is buried.

The family of Waltons first settled in Byberry and

gave it the name from the place they had resided in, in England.

Giles Knight and Josiah Ellis said to be the first persons who went there.

William Rush, married a second wife in Pennsylvania, and had issue by her:—

1. Sarah, born 1685.
2. William, born 1687.

He died at Byberry in 1688, five years after his arrival in this country, and was the only son of John Rush who lived to be above 30 years of age.

Susanna Rush, eldest child of William Rush, married John Webster and had issue.

1. Phoebe, who married William Lockhart.
2. A son.

Susanna afterwards married Gilbert, by whom she had no issue.

She had a masculine body and mind. Her last husband being lazy, she worked her farm of 100 acres with her own hands. She used to plow, harrow and reap. The first she said was a delightful exercise.

Elizabeth Rush, second daughter of William Rush, married Timothy Stephenson, an Englishman of worthy character, by whom she had no issue. Tim Stephenson afterwards married Rachel Rush, the widow of his brother-in-law, James Rush, by the consent of the Synod of New York. They had no issue. Her husband died before her and left her his estate in Front Street, Philadelphia, afterwards owned by her eldest son John Rush.

James Rush, eldest son (third child) of William Rush. Born 1679, married Rachel Peart, daughter of Bryan Peart, an Englishman, and brother to Benjamin Peart.

He was an ingenious, active and worthy man, and so exact in business that when he died, which was in the year 1727, March 16th, aged forty-eight years and ten months, he did not leave a single debt behind him. He owned the farm on which he lived and died, and left £300 to each of his children. He was buried in the family grave yard near his house, on his headstone are the following lines.

"I've tried the strength of death at length,
"And here lie under ground,
"But I shall rise, above the skies,
"When the last trump shall sound."

His issue were:—

1. John, born 1712.
2. Elizabeth, born 1714.
3. William, born 1716. Married Mary Williams and had issue
    1. William.
    2. John.
4. Rachel, born 1718, died in childhood.
5. Joseph, born 1720, died single.
6. James, born March 25th, 1723, died single.
7. Thomas, born 1724, died single.
8. Ann, married John Ashmead.
9. Aurelia, died in childhood.

John Rush, eldest son of James Rush, married Sus. Harvey formerly Hall, daughter of Jos. Hall of Tacony, by whom he had issue. He was a man of a meek and peaceable spirit, and so just in his dealings and intercourse with the world, that one of his neighbors once said of him, "that more could not be said in favor of a man's integrity, than that he was as honest as John Rush." He died July 26th, 1751, in Philadelphia and was buried in Christ Church grave-yard. His widow was buried by his side at her request July 3d, 1795. "Let me be buried by his side" (said

she on her death bed) "he was an angel to me while he lived." They had issue

1. James, died at sea of the yellow fever in the 21st year of his age.
2. Rachel.
3. Rebecca.
4. Benjamin.
5. Jacob, born Nov. 24th, A. D. 1745.
6. Stephenson, died in childhood.
7. John.

Rachel Rush, eldest daughter, second child, of John and Susanna Rush, née Hall, married Angus Boyce, and had issue

1. Malcolm, who died single in his 30th year.

She afterwards married Joseph Montgomery, and died October, 1798, and had issue

1. John Montgomery.

Rebecca Rush, second daughter and third child of John and Susanna (née Hall) Rush, married Thomas Stamper, and had issue

1. Joseph, died in his eighth year.
2. Susanna, died in infancy.

She afterwards married Wallace, and died in 1793.

Benjamin Rush, second son and fourth child of John and Susanna Rush (née Hall), married Julia Stockton, January 11th, 1776, and had issue

1. John, born July 17th, 1777, died August 9, 1837.
2. Emily, born January 1st, 1779.
3. Richard, born August 29th, 1780.
4. Susanna, born January 7th, 1782, died in infancy.
5. Elizabeth, born February 14th, 1783, died in infancy.
6. Mary, born May 16th, 1784.

7. James, born March 15th, 1786.
8. William, born November 8th, 1787, died in infancy.
9. Benjamin, born July 3d, 1789, died in infancy.
10. Benjamin, born January 18th, 1791.
11. Julia, born November 22nd, 1792.
12. Samuel, born August 1st, 1795.
13. William, born May 11th, 1801.

Jacob Rush, third son and fifth child of John and Susanna (née Hall) Rush, married Mary Rench in the year 1777, November 17th, and had issue

1. Rebecca, born January 1, 1779.
2. Sarah, born January 24, 1781.
3. Mary, born January 24, 1783.
4. Louissa, born .
5. Harriet.

Ann Rush, third daughter and eighth child of James and Rachel Rush, married John Ashmead and had issue

1. William.
2. John.
3. Rachel.
4. Benjamin, died in childhood.

She afterwards married Potts, and had issue:

1. James, who married and had issue seven or eight children.

William Ashmead, eldest son of John and Ann Ashmead, married, and had issue:

1. John.
2. Thomas.
3. William.
4. James.
5. Mary.
6. Ann.

John Ashmead, second son of John and Anne Ashmead, married Mary Mifflin, and had issue:

1. John, who had several children.
2. Benjamin.
3. Hannah, died in childhood.
4. Ann.
5. William, who had several children.
6. Joseph, who died single.
7. Mary.
8. Thomas, who died in childhood.
9. Eliza.

Rachel Ashmead, eldest daughter and third child of John and Anne Ashmead, married J. Hood and had issue:

1. Mary, who married Samuel Boys and had issue: five children.
2. James.

Elizabeth Rush, eldest daughter and second child of James and Rachel Rush, married Edward Carey, and had issue:

1. Elizabeth.
2. Jesse.
3. Ezra, who died single.
4. Ann, who married John Gouge, and had issue:
    1. Edward.
    2. John.
    3. Jesse.
    4. Ezra.
5. Rachel.
6. Sarah, who died single.

Sarah Rush, third daughter and fourth child of William Rush, married David Meredith, she lived to be above 80 years, and left 108 descendants, she had issue:

1. Susanna, who married a man of the name of Kays and had issue seven or eight children.

2. David, married Garret, issue, ten children.
3. Rebecca, married Mr. J. Jinkins, issue ten children.
4. William, married Loyd, issue ten children.
5. Rachel, married Connelly, issue four children.
6. Joseph.
7. John, married Cloyd, issue six children.
8. Mary, married Bean, issue eight children.
9. Hanna, married Guest, issue six children.

Also several other children that died in infancy.

William Rush, second and youngest son of William Rush, married Elizabeth Hodges, March 1st, A. D. 1711-12, at the house of his half brother, James Rush, by a Quaker meeting, and had issue:

1. Mary, who married George Irvine and had issue:
    1. Elizabeth.
    2. James, now General Irvine.
    3. Susanna, who died single.
    4. Mary, who died single.
2. William.
3. Joseph.
4. Elizabeth, who died in infancy.
5. Elizabeth, who died single.
6. Francis, who died in infancy.

William Rush, second and eldest son of William Rush the second and Elizabeth Rush, married Esther Carlisle, and had issue:

1. John, who died in infancy.
2. Joseph, who died in infancy.
3. William, who died single.
4. John, who died in infancy.
5. Elizabeth, who married R. Bethell, and had issue:
    1. William.
    2. Robert.
    3. Frances.

6. Hannah, who died in infancy.

He afterwards married Frances De and had issue:

1. Abraham, who died in infancy.
2. Francis, who died in infancy.
3. Joseph, who married Sally Massey in S. Carolina.
4. Sarah, who married Joseph Kerr, and had issue—five children.

Joseph Rush, the third and youngest son of William Rush the second, married Rebecca Lincorn, and had issue:

1. Elizabeth.
2. William, who had eight children.
3. Mary, who died in childhood.
4. Abraham, who died in childhood.
5. Catherine.
6. Joseph, who died single.
7. Susanna.
8. George, who died in childhood.

He afterwards married Elizabeth Hilton, by whom he had issue:

1. Esther, who died in childhood.
2. Rebecca, who died in childhood.
3. Benjamin.
4. Esther.
5. Sarah, who died in childhood.
6. James, Irvine.

He was a sensible and ingenious man and excelled in his business as a ship-carpenter. He died in 1798, near 80 years of age. He bore an excellent character.

III

SUSANNA RUSH

Susannah Rush, second daughter of John and Sus: Rush, married **John Hart** in England. He was born at Whitney in Oxfordshire, November 16th, 1651. He was a member of the First Assembly called by William Penn in A. D. 1683. He was educated a Quaker, but became a Keithian in A. D. 1691, and a Baptist preacher in A. D. 1697. He took up a large body of land at Byberry, and left a large estate to his family. He was a man of great piety. His last words on his death bed were "Now I know that Christ died for me in particular." He had issue:

1. John.
2. Joseph.
3. Thomas.
4. Josiah.
5. Mary.

These married into the Crispin, Miles, Paulin and Dungan families, from whence have descended a numerous issue in Philadelphia, Bucks, and Montgomery Counties.

IV

JOHN RUSH

John Rush, third son of John and Sus: Rush, **died** under thirty years of age, he had issue:

1. John.
2. Thomas.

John Rush, eldest son of the above John Rush, married Sarah and had issue:

1. Mary.
2. John.
3. William.
4. Joseph.
5. Sarah.
6. Benjamin.

His eldest daughter married a man of the name of Norwood, whose descendants are now in Dublin.

Joseph Rush, third son of John and Sarah Rush, married and had issue:

1. Sarah.
2. Hannah.
3. James.
4. Benjamin.

And two or three others.

Thomas Rush, younger son of John Rush, married and had issue:

1. John, who died single.
2. Thomas, who died in childhood.
3. Mary, who died in childhood.
4. Elizabeth, who died in childhood.
5. Esther, who died in childhood.
6. Rebecca, who married J. English, and had issue several children.

He lived to be eighty-four years of age and died about the year 1770. He passed the first fourteen years of his life with his grandfather John Rush, and has often related anecdotes to Benjamin Rush and others, of the battles, skirmishes, etc., of the old captain which he received from his own lips. He often mentioned his being well known to, and esteemed by Oliver Cromwell, who one day seeing his mare come into Camp without him, supposed he had

been killed, and lamented him by saying, "he had not left a better officer behind him." It was from Thomas Rush, my brother received the old man's sword.

V

JANE RUSH

Jane Rush, youngest daughter of John and Susanna Rush, married John Darke, son of Thomas, and had issue:

1. John, born A. D. 1698.
2. William, born A. D. 1700.
3. Joseph, born A. D. 1702.
4. Thomas, born A. D. 1704, and died at a few weeks old.
5. Samuel, born A. D. 1706.
6. Mary, born A. D. 1709.

William Darke, second son of John and Jane Darke, had issue:

1. John.
2. Ann, who married Captain Sage, and had issue:
    1. Esther, who died single.
    2. Rachel.

Joseph Darke, third son of John and Jane Darke, had issue:

1. Jane, born May 9th, A. D. 1734.
2. William, now General Darke, born May 6th, A. D. 1736.
3. John, born March 10th, A. D. 1741.
4. Joseph, born September 20th, 1744.
5. Martha, born September 17th, 1750.

Samuel Darke, fifth son of Jno. and Jane Darke, had issue:

1. Sarah.
2. Jane.
3. Samuel.
4. Mary.
5. Lydia.
6. Thomas.
7. William.

Mary Darke, sixth and youngest child of John and Jane Darke, married, and had issue:

1. Elizabeth, born A. D. 1734, who had four children.
2. John, born A. D. 1736, who died in infancy.
3. Edward, born A. D. 1738, who had five children.
4. Robert, born A. D. 1740, who was killed by the Indians, and had seven children.
5. William, born A. D. 1742, who had eleven children.

The foregoing table of the Genealogy, &c., was copied from entries, all in the handwriting of Dr. James Rush, made on the blank leaves of an old Bible formerly in the possession of Dr. James Rush, who died May 26th, A. D. 1869.

From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale

From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale

A Brief Account

of the

Ancestors and Descendants

of

BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.

of the

City of Philadelphia

Compiled from family records and his own personal knowledge
by his Son-in-Law

HENRY J. WILLIAMS

A. D. 1869

JOHN RUSH

John Rush, commander of a Troop of Horse in Oliver Cromwell's Army, was married to Susannah Lucas at Horton in Oxfordshire, England. He came to Pennsylvania in A. D. 1683 and settled at Byberry, about thirteen miles from Philadelphia, where he died A. D. 1699, aged about eighty years.

Their eldest son and second child was

WILLIAM RUSH

born on the twenty-first day of July, A. D. 1652. Married Aurelia , and died at Byberry, A. D. 1688.

Their eldest son and third child was

JAMES RUSH

born A. D. 1679. Married Rachel Peart and died at Byberry on the sixteenth of March, A. D. 1727, aged forty-eight years.

Their eldest son and first child was

JOHN RUSH

born A. D. 1712. Married Susanna Harvey, a widow, daughter of Joseph Hall of Tacony, on the Delaware River. Died July 26th, A. D. 1751, in Philadelphia, and was buried in the ground of Christ Church, southeast corner of Fifth and Arch streets, where his headstone still stands. His widow afterwards married a man named Morris, by whom she had no children. She died on the second of July, A. D. 1795, and was buried in Christ Church burying ground, corner of Fifth and Arch streets, where her tombstone is still in good preservation.

The eldest son, who left issue (third child) of John and Susanna Rush was

BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.

born at Byberry, then in the county, now in the City of Philadelphia, on the twenty-fourth of December, A. D. 1745, and was married on the eleventh of January, A. D. 1776, by the Rev. John Witherspoon, at "Morven," the seat of her father near Princeton, New Jersey, to Julia Stockton, eldest daughter of the Honorable Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of Mrs. Annis Stockton (née Boudinot), his wife.

Dr. Benjamin Rush died in Philadelphia on the nineteenth day of April, A. D. 1813, and was buried in the ground of Christ Church, at the southeast corner of Fifth and Arch streets. He was a Medical Professor in the University of Pennsylvania and greatly distinguished as a teacher and practitioner of medicine and as an author on various subjects. He was an accomplished scholar, an eminent statesman, a warm advocate for universal freedom, Surgeon General in the American Army, a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and above all a humble and devout Christian.

Mrs. Julia Rush, wife of Dr. Benjamin Rush and eldest daughter of the Honorable Richard Stockton of Princeton, New Jersey, was born at "Morven," the seat of her father, on the second of March, A. D. 1759, and died at her little farm called "Sydenham," now Fifteenth street and Columbia avenue in the City of Philadelphia, on the seventh of July, A. D. 1848. She was buried in the grave of her husband, in Christ Church burying ground, southeast corner of Fifth and Arch streets.

Dr. **Benjamin** and Mrs. **Julia Rush** had issue:

1st. **John Rush,** born in Cecil County, Maryland, at the house of Elihu Hall, Esquire, on the seventeenth of July, A. D. 1777. Served as an officer in the Navy of the United States of America, and died unmarried, at Philadelphia, on the ninth of August, A. D. 1837. He was buried near his father in Christ Church burying ground.

2d. **Anne Emily Rush,** born at Philadelphia, on the first of January, A. D. 1779. Married, had issue, and died at Montreal, Lower Canada, on the twenty-seventh day of April, A. D. 1850.

3d. **Richard Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the twenty-ninth of August, A. D. 1780. Married, had issue, and died at Philadelphia on the twenty-eighth of July, A. D. 1859.

4th. **Susanna Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the seventh of January, A. D. 1782, and died on the twenty-seventh of May, A. D. 1782.

5th. **Elizabeth Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the fourteenth of February, A. D. 1783, and died on the second of July, A. D. 1783.

6th. **Mary Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the sixteenth of May, A. D. 1784. Married, had issue, and died in England on the second of November, A. D. 1849.

7th. **James Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the fifteenth of March, A. D. 1786. Married, and died without issue on the twenty-sixth of May, A. D. 1869.

8th. **William Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the eighth of November, A. D. 1787, and died on the fifteenth of January, A. D. 1788.

9th. **Benjamin Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the third of July, A. D. 1789, and died on the twenty-first of July, A. D. 1789.

10th. **Benjamin Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the eighteenth of February, A. D. 1791, died unmarried at New Orleans on the seventeenth of December, A. D. 1824, and was buried in the cemetery of the Protestant Church in that city.

11th. **Julia Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the twenty-second of November, A. D. 1792. Married and died without issue on the nineteenth of April, A. D. 1860.

12th. **Samuel Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the first of August, A. D. 1795. Married, had issue, and died on the twenty-fourth of November, A. D. 1859.

13th. **William Rush,** born at Philadelphia on the eleventh of May, A. D. 1801. Married, had issue, and died on the twentieth of November, A. D. 1864.

I

ANNE EMILY RUSH

Anne Emily Rush, eldest daughter and second child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born at Philadelphia on the first day of January, A. D. 1779. Married on the twelfth day of March, A. D. 1799, by the Revd. William White, to the Honorable Ross Cuthbert of the Seigniory of Lanoraie on the River St. Lawrence, near Berthier, Lower Canada, and died on the twenty-seventh day of April, A. D. 1850, at Montreal, Lower Canada, where she had gone on a visit. She was buried in the vault of the

Family Chapel at Berthier. The Honorable Ross Cuthbert survived his wife, and died at the Manor House of Lanoraie on the twenty-eighth day of August, A. D. 1860. He was buried by his wife's side in the vault of the Family Chapel, but both he and his wife were subsequently removed to the cemetery of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Sorel. They had issue:

1st. **James Cuthbert,** born at Lanoraie, L. C., on the seventh of January, A. D. 1800, and died there on the thirtieth of March, A. D. 1842.

2d. **Julia Cuthbert,** born at Lanoraie, L. C., on the second of October, A. D. 1801, and died there on the eleventh of February, A. D. 1802.

3d. **Georgina Cuthbert,** born on the seventh of July, A. D. 1803.

4th. **Mary Cuthbert,** born on the twenty-fifth day of February, A. D. 1810.

1. **James Cuthbert,** eldest child and only son of the Honorable Ross and Mrs. Emily Cuthbert, was born on the seventh day of January, A. D. 1800, at Philadelphia. Married Miss Jane Stephens, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry and Mrs. Stephens, of London, England, on the seventh day of June, A. D. 1821, and died at Lanoraie on the thirtieth day of March, A. D. 1842, leaving his widow, and but one surviving son, Edmund Charles Cuthbert, who was born on the tenth day of March, A. D. 1836, served in the British Army in India, and died unmarried on the thirteenth day of November, A. D. 1864, at Pesth, in Hungary, which he had visited while on a tour through Europe.

James Cuthbert had five children, all of whom except Edmund Charles died in infancy.

1. George Ross Cuthbert, born July 2d, 1821, died April 10th, 1824.
2. Henry S. Cuthbert, born January 27th, 1824, died May 3d, A. D. 1828.
3. Benjamin Rush Cuthbert, born January 13th, 1825, died February 1st, A. D. 1826.
4. James Rush Cuthbert, born January 11th, 1834, died July 19th, A. D. 1834.
5. Edmund Charles Cuthbert, born March 10th, A. D. 1836, died November 12th, A. D. 1864.

2. **Julia Cuthbert,** eldest daughter and second child of the Honorable Ross and Mrs. Emily Cuthbert, was born on the second day of October, A. D. 1801, and died on the 11th day of February, A. D. 1802.

3. **Georgina Cuthbert,** second daughter and third child of the Honorable Ross and Mrs. Emily Cuthbert, was born on the seventh day of July, A. D. 1803, and on the seventeenth day of June, A. D. 1829, married Mr. Augustus David Bostwick of Three Rivers, Lower Canada, who died on the seventeenth day of December, A. D. 1837. They had issue:

   1. Anne Emily Bostwick, born on the fifth of June, A. D. 1830, died on the sixteenth of August, A. D. 1831.
   2. John Bostwick, born on the twenty-third of July, A. D. 1831.
   3. Mary Bostwick, born on the third of March, A. D. 1833.

4. Georgina Bostwick, born on the fourth of October, A. D. 1834.
5. Charles Ogden Bostwick, who died quite young.

1. Anne Emily Bostwick, eldest daughter and child of Mr. Augustus David and Mrs. Georgina Bostwick, was born on the fifth day of June, A. D. 1830, and died on the sixteenth day of August, A. D. 1831.

2. John Bostwick, second child and eldest son of Mr. Augustus David and Mrs. Georgina Bostwick, was born on the twenty-third day of July, A. D. 1831, and married on the twenty-fourth day of October, A. D. 1860, Miss Elisabeth Lloyd Merrick, youngest daughter of Mr. William and Mrs. Martha Merrick. They had two children:
    1. Georgina Martha Bostwick, born the twenty-fourth day of October, A. D. 1861.
    2. Mary Cuthbert Bostwick, born the twelfth day of August, A. D. 1863.

3. Mary Bostwick, second daughter and third child of Mr. Augustus David and Mrs. Georgina Bostwick, was born on the third day of March, A. D. 1833, and married on the first day of December, A. D. 1853, Mr. Edward Octavian Cuthbert. They have had issue:
    1. Emily Louisa Georgina Cuthbert, born on the twenty-eighth day of September, A. D. 1854, died on the fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1855.
    2. James Augustus Alfred Octavian Cuthbert, born the twenty-ninth day of May, A. D. 1856.

3. Mary Frances Eliza Cuthbert, born on the second of June, A. D. 1859, died on the fourth day of April, A. D. 1860.
4. Albert Edward Ross Cuthbert, born on the thirty-first day of July, A. D. 1860.
5. Jane Cuthbert, born June the tenth, A. D. 1867.
6. Julia Rush Cuthbert, born on the tenth day of June, A. D. 1867.

4. Georgina Bostwick, third daughter and fourth child of Mr. Augustus David and Mrs. Georgina Bostwick, was born on the fourth day of October, A. D. 1834, and married on the ninth day of July, A. D. 1855, Mr. James William Hanson. They have no children.

Mrs. Georgina Bostwick, widow of Mr. Augustus David Bostwick, married on the tenth day of June, A. D. 1851, Edward Adams Clark, Esq. They have no children.

4. **Mary Cuthbert,** third daughter and fourth child of the Honorable Ross and Mrs. Emily Cuthbert, was born on the twenty-fifth day of February, A. D. 1810.

II

RICHARD RUSH

Richard Rush, second son and third child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the twenty-ninth day of August, A. D. 1780, and was married on the twenty-ninth day of August, A. D. 1809, by the Rev. Dr. Judd to Catherine E. Murray, daughter of Dr.

James and Mrs. Sarah E. Murray then of Piney Grove, but formerly of Annapolis, Maryland. He died at his house in South Eighth street below Locust street, Philadelphia, on the thirtieth day of July, A. D. 1859, and was buried in his family vault in North Laurel Hill Cemetery in the City of Philadelphia.

He had been made Attorney General of the United States by President James Madison, and afterward appointed acting Secretary of State. In A. D. 1817, he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, where he remained nearly eight years, when he was recalled by President John Quincy Adams to fill the office of Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, subsequently he went again to England to collect and receive the Smithsonian Legacy, and after some interval was appointed Minister to France. After his return to this country he spent the latter years of his life either at Sydenham, his country seat, formerly in the county (but now Fifteenth street and Columbia avenue in the City of Philadelphia) of Philadelphia, or at his house in South Eighth street below Locust street.

His wife, Mrs. Catherine E. Rush, died at "Sydenham," her husband's country seat, on the twenty-fourth day of March, A. D. 1854, and was buried in his family vault in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Richard and Catherine E. Rush had issue:

A. 1st. **Benjamin Rush,** born in Philadelphia on the twenty-third of January, A. D. 1811, married and had issue. Died June 30, 1877.

B. 2d. **James Murray Rush,** born in Washington, D. C., on the tenth of July, A. D. 1813, married, had issue, and died on the seventh of February, A. D. 1862.

3d. **Richard Rush,** born in Washington, D. C., on the eleventh day of March, A. D. 1815, died at Washington, D. C., on the twenty-ninth day of October, A. D. 1826, and was buried at "Kalorama," the seat of Col. Bomford, U. S. Army, near that city.

4th. **Sarah Maynadier Rush,** born in Annapolis the seventeenth day of September, A. D. 1817, died in London on the nineteenth of April, A. D. 1819, and was buried in the vault of the Episcopal Church of Marylebone in London.

5th. **Julia Rush,** born in London on the eleventh of November, A. D. 1818, and died in London on the thirtieth of June, A. D. 1822. She was buried by the side of her little sister Sarah, in the vault of the Episcopal Church at Marylebone, London.

C. 6th. **Anna Maria Rush,** born in London on the twenty-third of April, A. D. 1820, and died unmarried on the 25th of December, 1887.

D. 7th. **Madison Rush,** born in London on the twenty-eighth of July, A. D. 1821, married and died without having had issue on the twentieth day of July, A. D. 1856.

E. 8th. **Sarah Catherine Rush,** born in London on the twenty-ninth day of June, A. D. 1823, and died July 17th, 1905, unmarried.

F. 9th. **Richard Henry Rush,** born in London on the fourteenth day of January, A. D. 1825, married, had issue, and died on the seventeenth of October, 1893.

G. 10th. **Julia Stockton Rush,** born at Washington, D. C., on the twenty-first of July, A. D. 1826, married, had issue, and died at Washington, D. C., on the twentieth of January, A. D. 1858.

A. 1st. **Benjamin Rush,** eldest son and first child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the twenty-third of January, A. D. 1811, and was married on the twenty-fourth of April, A. D. 1849, to Elizabeth M. Simpson, daughter of Dr. William Simpson, of Pittsburg, Penna., and Mary Theresa de Belen, his wife. Died June 30, 1877, in London, England. They had issue:

1. **William Simpson Rush,** born in Philadelphia on the twenty-eighth of January, A. D. 1851, and died unmarried at Dresden, Germany (where his father and family had been spending some time), on the second of June, A. D. 1869. His remains were sent home to be buried in the family vault of his father in North Laurel Hill Cemetery in the City of Philadelphia.

2. **Catherine Elisa Murray Rush,** born on the twenty-first of December, A. D. 1853, married William Masters Camac April 24th, 1895.

3. **Mary Theresa de Belen Rush,** born the eleventh of February, A. D. 1855. Married Rev. Richard Lewis Howell, April 30, 1889, and died May 24, 1903, and had issue:

Richard Lewis Howell, Jr., born February 14, 1891, died May 2, 1891.

B. 2d. **James Murray Rush,** second son and second child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born on the tenth of July, A. D. 1813, at Washington, D. C.

He married Eugenia Frances Sheaff, the widow of William Sheaff, and daughter of John and Maria Hiester of Reading, Penna., on the twenty-eighth of January, A. D. 1847. His wife, Eugenia, from her previous marriage had two daughters, both of whom are married. She died at "Sydenham," the residence of her husband's father, then in the county (now in the city) of Philadelphia, on the third of December, A. D. 1849, and was buried with her father and mother at Reading, Penna.

J. Murray and Eugenia Rush had issue, one son:

Richard Rush, born on the twenty-eighth of February, A. D. 1848, and now (A. D. 1906) an officer in the Navy of the United States of America. Retired with the rank of Captain. Married, July 10, 1873, Ella Mary Day, second daughter of Edgar Burr Day, of Catskill-on-Hudson, and Sophia Augusta Camp, of Sacketts Harbor, New York, and has had issue:

Richard Rush, Junior, born September 28th, 1875, at Philadelphia, and died November 21st, 1875, at Catskill-on-Hudson, New York, of pneumonia.

Ella Day Rush, Junior, born November 1st, 1876, at Philadelphia. Married September 23d, 1905, at Catskill-on-Hudson, New York, William Spencer Murray, of Annapolis, Maryland.

James Murray Rush, afterwards, on the twenty-ninth of November, A. D. 1853, married Elizabeth Upshur Den-

nis, widow of Lyttleton Dennis (by whom she had no children) and daughter of Lyttleton Upshur Dennis and Sarah Robertson, his wife, of Essex, Somerset County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. She died at the house of her husband, on Washington Square, Philadelphia, on the sixteenth of May, A. D. 1856, and was buried on her family estate in Somerset County, Maryland. She left one only daughter, **Elizabeth Murray Rush,** who was born on the twenty-sixth of January, A. D. 1856. James Murray Rush died at his house in South Eighth street below Locust street, in the City of Philadelphia, on the afternoon of Friday the seventh of January, A. D. 1862, and was buried in his brother's family vault in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Elisabeth Murray Rush married, April 20, 1882, John Biddle Porter, son of Andrew Porter and Margaretta Biddle, and had issue:

1. Margaretta Biddle Porter, born June 13th, 1883.
2. Catherine Rush Porter, born January 27th, 1885.
3. Elizabeth Murray Rush Porter, born September 3d, 1893.

C. 3d. **Anna Maria Rush,** third daughter and sixth child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in London, at the house of her father, then Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, on the twenty-third of April, A. D. 1820, died at Philadelphia 25th of December, 1887.

D. 4th. **Madison Rush,** fourth son and seventh child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in London, at the house of his father, then Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, on the twenty-eighth of July, A. D. 1821, and served for many years as an officer in the Navy of the United States of America, but resigned his commission

upon his marriage. He married on the twentieth of February, A. D. 1855, Maria Blight, daughter of George and Maria Blight of the City of Philadelphia. His wife died in Philadelphia without issue on the third of November, A. D. 1855, and was buried in the ground of the Episcopal Church of St. James the Less, near the Falls of Schuylkill in the City of Philadelphia. Her husband, Madison Rush, was drowned while bathing in the Red Lake River in Minnesota, and was buried by the side of his wife in the ground of St. James the Less on the twenty-first of November, A. D. 1855, the same year, his body having been recovered and brought home.

E. 5th. **Sarah Catherine Rush,** fourth daughter and eighth child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in London at the house of her father, then Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, on the twenty-ninth of June, A. D. 1823, and died July 17th, 1905.

F. 6th. **Richard Henry Rush,** fifth son and ninth child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in London at the house of his father, then Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, on the fourteenth day of January, A. D. 1825, and was married on the fourth day of February, A. D. 1851, to Sarah Anne Blight, daughter of George and Maria Blight, of the City of Philadelphia. His wife died at Newport, Rhode Island, on the eighth of August, A. D. 1852, and was buried in the vault of her father in St. Stephen's Church yard, South Tenth street above Chestnut street, in the City of Philadelphia. She left one only son, **Murray Rush,** who was born on the twentieth day of October, A. D. 1851.

Murray Rush, son of Richard Henry Rush and Sarah Anne Blight, married January 14th, 1876, at Christ Church, Baltimore, Louisa Bowdoin, and has issue:

1. Murray Blight Rush, born in Baltimore February 9, 1877.
2. Arthur Temple Rush, born in Philadelphia January 11, 1879, married May 17th, 1904, Ayliffe M. Borie.
3. Louis Harold Rush, born at Rye Beach, N. H., August 23d, 1880,
4. Alice Bowdoin Rush, born at Radnor, Pa., March 30th, 1884.

Arthur Temple Rush, second son of Murray Rush married Ayliffe M. Borie, daughter of John Borie and Susan Halsey, and has issue:

Richard Rush 2d, born February 25th, 1905.

Richard Henry Rush afterwards, on the eleventh of December, A. D. 1856, married Susan Bowdoin Yerby, daughter of Dr. George Y. and Charlotte H. Yerby, of "Selma," Northampton County, Virginia, and died October 17th, 1893.

Richard H. and Susan B. Rush have had issue:

1. **Richard Henry Rush**, born the fifteenth of September, A. D. 1857, and died on the third day of July, A. D. 1858.
2. **Madison Rush**, born on the third of November, A. D. 1858, married and has issue.
3. **Charlotte Graham Rush**, born on the twelfth of February, A. D. 1860, married and has issue.
4. **Susan Rush**, born on the twelfth of July, A. D. 1861, married and has issue.
5. **Julia Rush**, born on the fifteenth of December, A. D. 1863.
6. **Benjamin Rush**, born November 28th, 1869, married and has issue.

Richard H. Rush was educated at West Point, and served a number of years as an officer in the Army of the United States of America. He resigned his Commission soon after the death of his first wife, but upon the breaking out of the Great Southern Rebellion was appointed Colonel of a Regiment of Lancers and served during that war, in the Union Army. After the overthrow of the Confederacy, he again resigned his Commission and retired to private life.

Madison Rush, second son of Richard Henry Rush and Susan Bowdoin Yerby, married, October 2, 1884, Catharine Parker Costin, born July 12, 1859, died December 13, 1902. He married a second time, July 6, 1904, Caroline Novess, born November 11, 1880.

Madison Rush and Catharine Parker Costin had issue:

Catharine Elisabeth Rush, born October 7th, 1885.
Susan Rush, born August 16th, 1890.
Julia Stockton Rush, born March 3d. 1897.

Charlotte Graham Rush, third child and eldest daughter of Richard Henry Rush and Susan Bowdoin Yerby, married January 27, 1883, Edward Dale Toland, son of Robert Toland, of Philadelphia, has issue:

Edward Dale Toland, born December 11, 1886.
Priscilla Toland, born September 19, 1888.
Richard Henry Rush Toland, born September 3, 1891.
Robert Toland, born April 2, 1895.
Owen Jones Toland, born January 19, 1897.

Susan Rush, fourth child and second daughter of Richard Henry Rush and Susan Bowdoin Yerby, married September 17th, 1887, Cecil Campbell Higgins. They have issue:

Campbell Higgins, born July 23, 1888.
Celia Campbell Higgins, born April 16, 1890.

Benjamin Rush, sixth child and third son of Richard Henry Rush and Susan Bowdoin Yerby, married June 5th, 1895, Mary Wheeler Lockwood, and has issue:

Charlotte Rush, born March 26th, 1896.
Benjamin Rush, born October 28th, 1898.
Mary Rush, born January 10th, 1900.
Richard Stockton Rush, born July 14th, 1905.

G. 7th. **Julia Stockton Rush,** fifth daughter and tenth and youngest child of Richard and Catherine E. Rush, was born in Washington, D. C., on the twenty-first of July, A. D. 1826, and was married on the first of June, A. D. 1854, to John Calvert of Washington, D. C., son of Edward Calvert, Esquire, of Mount Airy, Prince George's County, Maryland. She died in Washington, D. C., January 20, 1858, and was buried in the family vault of her father in North Laurel Hill Cemetery in the City of Philadelphia. Her husband, John Calvert, died at his farm in Prince George's County, Maryland, on the ninth of March, A. D. 1869, and was buried by the side of his wife in a part of the family vault of his father-in-law, which had been allotted to him.

John and Julia S. Calvert left issue, two sons.

1. **John Calvert,** born the ninth of March, A. D. 1855, married October 26, 1881, Victoria Baltzell Elliott, second daughter of T. Thomas Elliott and Victoria R. Baltzell. They have had issue:

Cecilius Baltimore Calvert, born September 11, 1882.

2. **Madison Rush Calvert**, born the twelfth of January, A. D. 1858, married August 4, 1881, Josephine R. Wheeler, of New York. Married a second time, Margaret Agnes Mahoney, of Portsmouth, N. H. They have had issue:

   Catherine Rush Calvert, born December 25, 1892, died February 14, 1895.

III

MARY RUSH

Mary Rush, fourth daughter and sixth child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the sixteenth of May, A. D. 1784, and was married at Philadelphia on the twenty-ninth of December, A. D. 1809, to Captain Thomas Manners, of the Forty-ninth British Regiment, by the Right Revd. Bishop William White. She followed her husband to Canada and England, where she resided the rest of her life, and died at Fort Clarence, near Rochester, Kent, England, on the second of November, A. D. 1849. She was buried at Gillingham Church about five miles from Rochester. Captain Thomas Manners died at Cheltenham about the sixth day of March, A. D. 1834, and was buried there.

Captain and Mrs. Manners left issue:

1. **Julia Manners**, born at Malden, Upper Canada, on the day of April, A. D. 1805, died November 26, 1874, in London, England.

2. **Robert Manners**, born at Quebec, U. C., on the day of June, A. D. 1806. He entered the British Army, served for many years, and rose to the rank of Captain, he was then appointed Governor of the Military Prison at Fort Clarence, near Rochester, Kent, England, where he continued to reside, when he retired on a pension.

IV

JAMES RUSH, M. D.

James Rush, M. D., third son and seventh child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the fifteenth (sixteenth) day of March, A. D. 1786. He was married on the nineteenth day of October, A. D. 1819, by the Right Reverend Bishop William White, to Phoebe Ann Ridgway, daughter of Jacob and Rebecca Ridgway, of the City of Philadelphia. His wife, Anne, was born on the third of December, A. D. 1799, and died at Saratoga, New York, on the twenty-third day of October, A. D. 1857. She was buried in her father's ground in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Dr. James Rush died without having had issue, at his house No. 1914 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, on the twenty-sixth day of May, A. D. 1869, and was buried in the grave of his wife, in the ground of his father-in-law, Jacob Ridgway, in North Laurel Hill Cemetery. Dr. Rush was a successful practitioner of medicine and an author of several works. "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," one of his productions, has become a standard work and a text-book with all teachers and students of elocution. He left by his will almost the whole of his immense fortune, derived in a great measure from his father-in-law and his wife, to found and endow "The Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library."

V

JULIA RUSH

Julia Rush, fifth daughter and eleventh child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the twenty-second day of November, A. D. 1792, and was married by the Rt. Reverend William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, on the seventeenth day of June, A. D. 1820, to Henry J. Williams, son of General Jonathan and

Mrs. Mariamne Williams (née Alexander). She died without issue in the house of her husband, No. 712 Walnut street, in the City of Philadelphia, on the nineteenth of April, A. D. 1860, and was buried in his family vault in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

She was a woman of very remarkable personal attractions, and her wit and accomplishments were equal to her beauty. She united to unusual intelligence and information the sweetest and kindliest disposition and the gentlest and most polished manners, she diffused comfort and happiness throughout her whole household, and when she died left it in loneliness and sorrow.

"During her whole life she was an earnest, active and "devoted member of the Episcopal Church, and with all "the graces of a thorough cultivation, and the attractions "of unusual social powers, she combined a clear view of "the way of Mercy thro' the Saviour and a firm grasp of "the promises of God in Him. And happy in the love of "Him in whom she trusted, happy in the hope of eternal "blessedness thro' her Lord, Jesus Christ, there was in her "experience almost no shadow of the doubts with which "many are disturbed. She was consequently free to enjoy "the bounties of God's Providence, the beauties of His "works and the rich comforts of His word and spirit, with "humble, innocent, and hearty cheerfulness. She did so, "and with smiles ever on her lips, with love and joy ever in "her heart was the charm of the Christian society in which "she moved and of the happy domestic circle she adorned.

"Her life was truly hid in Christ with God and when "its termination came, it found her calmly and confidently "reposing, where she had reposed for years, on the "undoubted love of her Redeemer. She passed the valley "of the shadow of death feeling and saying that **'it was but "'a shadow'** and rests now in the full brightness of the "other side."

"It is but a shadow" were her own words one day before her death, with a perfect knowledge of its near approach.

VI

SAMUEL RUSH

Samuel Rush, seventh son and twelfth child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born in Philadelphia on the first of August, A. D. 1795, and died at the house of his son-in-law, Col. Alexander Biddle, No. 1626 Walnut street, in the City of Philadelphia, November 24, 1859. He was buried in the ground of "Christ Church" at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets, but was afterwards removed to the vault of his brother-in-law, Henry J. Williams, in North Laurel Hill Cemetery. He was married at Philadelphia by the Reverend Simon Wilmer to Anne Wilmer, daughter of James and Anne Wilmer (née Emerson), on the twelfth of August, A. D. 1828.

They had issue:

1. **James Rush,** born on the eighth of May, A. D. 1829, and died on the thirtieth of December, A. D. 1831.

2. **Julia Williams Rush,** born on the twenty-eighth of November, A. D. 1832, died August 8th, 1898, at Lanoraie, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

3. **William Rush,** born on the seventh of February, A. D. 1837, and died on the twentieth of April, A. D. 1860.

1st. **James Rush,** son of Samuel and Anne Rush, was born on the eighth of May, A. D. 1829, and died on the thirtieth of December, A. D. 1831. He was buried in the ground of Christ Church at the southeast corner of Fifth and Arch streets, but afterwards removed with his father's remains to the vault of Henry J. Williams, in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

2d. **Julia Williams Rush,** eldest daughter and second child of Samuel and Anne Rush, was born at Philadelphia on the twenty-eighth of November, A. D. 1832, and married on the eleventh of October, A. D. 1855, to Alexander Biddle (son of Thomas and Christine Biddle, née Williams). They had issue:

1. **Alexander Williams Biddle,** born on the Fourth of July, A. D. 1856, married Anne McKennan July 19, 1879. Has issue.

2. **Henry Rush Biddle,** born on the fifteenth of March, A. D. 1858, died January 2, 1877, at Lanoraie, Chestnut Hill.

3. **Julia Rush Biddle,** born on the twenty-fifth of July, A. D. 1859, died February 24, 1885.

4. **James Wilmer Biddle,** born on the twenty-second of November, A. D. 1861, married Cora Rowland. Has issue.

5. **Louis Alexander Biddle,** born on the twelfth of March, A. D. 1863.

6. **Mariamne Biddle,** born on the eighth of November, A. D. 1865.

7. **Lynford Biddle,** born August 26th, 1871.

Alexander Williams Biddle, eldest son of Alexander Biddle and Julia Williams Rush, married Anne McKennan, daughter of Judge William McKennan, of Washington, Penna., and has issue.

Pauline Biddle, born August 7, 1880, married John Penn Brock, son of Horace Brock of Philadelphia, April 24th, 1905.

Christine Alexander Biddle, born October 20, 1882.

Julia Rush Biddle, born August 16, 1886.

Isabel Biddle, born January 16, 1888.

Alexander Biddle, born April 4, 1893.

James Wilmer Biddle, fourth child and third son of Alexander Biddle and Julia Williams Rush, married February 4, 1891, Cora Rowland, daughter of Howard Rowland, of Philadelphia. Has issue:

Mariamne Wilmer Biddle, born June 15, 1893.

Harriet Biddle, born February 4, 1896.

3d. **William Rush,** second son and third child of Samuel and Anne Rush, was born at Philadelphia on the seventh day of February, A. D. 1837, and died unmarried on the twentieth of April, A. D. 1860. He was buried in the vault of his uncle, Henry J. Williams, in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

VII

WILLIAM RUSH, M. D.

William Rush, M. D., eighth son, thirteenth and youngest child of Dr. Benjamin and Mrs. Julia Rush, was born at Philadelphia on the eleventh of May, A. D. 1801, and was married by the Reverend Dr. Delancy on the eighteenth day of July, A. D. 1827, to Elizabeth Fox Roberts, daughter of Hugh and Sarah Roberts (née Smith), of Piney Grove, in the City and County of Philadelphia. He died in Philadelphia on the twentieth of November, A. D. 1864, and was buried in the ground of "Christ Church" at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets, in the City of Philadelphia.

They had issue, one only daughter:

Julia Roberts Rush, who was born in Philadelphia on the seventh of May, A. D. 1828, died on the sixth of July, A. D. 1834, and was buried in the ground of "Christ Church," near her grandfather, Dr. Benjamin Rush.

Her widowed mother died at 1630 Walnut street on the 27th day of June, 1877, and was buried Saturday, June 30, in the lot of George Roberts Smith in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

"Died,

On Sunday, the 6th inst. Julia, only daughter of Dr. William Rush, aged about 7 years.

She was a child of uncommon promise, and the sorrow and sympathy for her loss testify the worth of the young departed, and the depth of the bereavement sustained by the parents and surviving friends:

No bitter tears for thee be shed,
  Blossom of being! seen and gone;
With flowers alone, we strew thy bed,
  Oh blest, departed one,—
Whose all of life, a rosy ray,
Blushed into dawn, and passed away.
  Thou wert so like a child of light,
    That heaven benignly called thee hence,
  Ere the cold world could shed a blight
    O'er thy sweet innocence;
And thou, that brighter land to bless,
Hast gone in all thy loveliness!"

1834.

Her widowed mother died at 1630 Walnut street on the 27th day of June, 1877, and was buried Saturday, June 30, in the lot of George Roberts Smith in North Laurel Hill Cemetery.

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And thou, that brighter land to bless,
Hast gone in all thy loveliness!"

1834.

TABLE OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE NAME OF RUSH

From the first of that Family who settled in Pennsylvania in the year A. D. 1683

JOHN RUSH and SUSANNA LUCAS

JOHN RUSH, born in Oxfordshire, England, A. D. 1620. Married SUSANNA LUCAS, at Hornton, June 8th, A. D. 1648. Settled at Byberry, Pennsylvania, A. D. 1683. Died A. D. 1699

had issue

Elizabeth
Born June 16th, A. D. 1649.
Married Rich: Collet.
Residence, Byberry.
Posterity, Peart, Willard, Messer.

WILLIAM
Born July 21st, A. D. 1652.
First married in England Aurelia then in Penna. to
Died at Byberry in A. D. 1688.

Thomas
Born Nov. 7th, A. D. 1654.
Died at London, Apl. 18th, A. D. 1676.

Susanna
Born Dec. 26th, A. D. 1656.
Married John Hart in England.
Residence, Byberry.
Posterity, Crispin, Miles, Dungan, Paulin.

John
Born Mch. 1st, A. D. 1660.
Married, had issue.
Residence, Byberry.
Posterity, Norwood, English.

Francis
Born Feb. 8th, A. D. 1662.
Died in England in childhood.

James
Born July 21st, A. D. 1664.
Died at Banbury, England, Jany. 24th A. D. 1671.

Joseph
Born Oct. 26th, A. D. 1666.
Died childless, under 30 years of age.

Edward
Born Sept. 27th A. D. 1670.
Died childless, under 30 years of age.

Jane
Born Dec. 27, A. D. 1673.
Residence, Byberry.
Married John Darke.

had issue

By First Wife

Susanna
Born A. D. 1675.
Married first John Webster, then Gilbert.
Residence, Byberry.
Posterity, Lockhart.

Elizabeth
Born A. D. 1677.
Married Timothy Stevenson.
Residence, Byberry.
Posterity, none.

JAMES
Born , A. D. 1679.
Married Rachel Peart and died at Byberry, March 16th, A. D. 1727.
Occupation, Farmer and Gunsmith.

By Second Wife

Sarah
Born A. D. 1685.
Married David Meredith, lived to above 80 years and left 108 descendants.
Posterity, Kays, Jenkins, Connelly, Bean, Guest.

William
Born A. D. 1687.
Married Elizabeth Hodges March 1st, 1714.
Posterity, Irvine, Bethell, Kerr.

had issue

JOHN
Born at Byberry, 1712.
Married Susanna Harvey, formerly Susa Hall, of Tacony.
Died in Philadelphia on July 26th, 1751.
Occupation, Gunsmith.

William
Born at Byberry.
Married Mary Williams

Joseph
Born at Byberry.
Died single.

James
Born at Byberry, Mch 26th, 1723, as he says in his Bible. But 11 five were born after him it does not accord with his father's death in 1727.

Thomas
Born at Byberry.
Died Single.

Rachel
Born at Byberry.
Died in childhood.

Ann
Born at Byberry.
Married John Ashmead, then Potts.
Posterity, Potts, Hood, Boys, Clay, Croskey, Lamat.

Elizebeth
Born at Byberry.
Married Edward Parry.
Residence, 3 miles from Phiada. on the township line just above the Germantown Road.
Posterity, George, Price.

Aurelia
Born at Byberry.
Died in childhood.

had issue

James
Born at Byberry, A. D. 1739
Died at Sea of the Yellow Fever in the 21st year of his age.

Rachel
Born at Byberry, A. D. 1741.
Married Angus Boyce, then Joseph Montgomery.
Died in A. D. 1768.
Posterity, one son by each who died dingle.

Rebecca
Born at Byberry, A. D. 1743.
Married Thomas Stamper, afterwards Wallace.
Had issue by Stamper 2 children,
Died in A. D. 1793, at Philada. of Yellow Fever.

BENJAMIN
Born at Byberry, Dec. 24th, A. D. 1745.
Married Julia Stockton of Princeton, N. J., Jan. 11th, A. D. 1776.
Died at Philada., April 19th, A. D. 1813.
Occupation, Medicine.

Jacob
Born at Byberry, Nov. 24th, A. D. 1747.
Married Mary Rench, had 4 daughters.
Occupation, Law, and Judge.
Died Jan'y. 5th, A. D. 1820.

Stephenson
Born at Byberry and died in childhood.

John
Born at Byberry and died in childhood.

had issue

John
Born July 17th, A. D. 1777, in Cecil Co., Maryland.
Occupation, Medicine and Navy.
Died Aug. 9th, A. D.

Emily
Born Jan'y 1st, A. D. 1779, in Philada.
Married Ross Cuthbert of Canada, March 12th, A. D. 1799.
Died at Montreal April 27th, 1850.

RICHARD
Born Aug. 29th, A. D. 1780, in Philada.
Married Catherine Murray of Annapolis, Maryland, Aug. 29th, A. D. 1809.
Occupation, Law.
Died July 30th, 1859.

Susanna
Born Jan'y 7th, A. D. 1782, in Phila.
Died May 27th, A. D. 1782, of convulsions.

Elizabeth
Born Feb'y 14th A. D. 1783, in Philada.
Died July 2d, A. D. 1783, of Inflammation of the breast.

Mary
Born May 16th, A. D. 1784, in Philada.
Married Thomas Manners of the British Army in Canada.
Died at Fort Clarence near Rochester, Kent, England, November 2d, 1849.

James
Born Mch. 15th, A. D. 1786, in Philada.
Married Ann Ridgway Oct. 19th, A. D. 1819.
Occupation, Medicine.
Died May 26th, 1869.
Without issue.

William
Born Nov. 8th, A. D. 1787, in Philada.
Died Jan'y 15th, A. D. 1788, of Inflammation of the breast.

Benjamin
Born July 3d, A. D. 1789, in Philada.
Died July 21st, A. D. 1789, of Cholera Infantum.

Benjamin
Born Feb'y 18th, A. D. 1791, in Philada.
Occupation, Merchant.
Died at New Orleans Dec. 17th, 1824.

Julia
Born Nov. 22d, A. D. 1792, in Philada.
Married Henry J. Williams, June 17th, A. D. 1830.
Died April 19th, 1860.
Without issue.

Samuel
Born Aug. 1st, A. D. 1795, in Philada.
Occupation, Law.
Married Nancy Wilmer.
Died November 24th, 1859.

William
Born May 11th, A. D. 1801, in Philada.
Occupation, Medicine.
Married Elizabeth Roberts.
Died November 20th, 1864.

had issue

Benjamin
Born Jan'y 23d, 1811, in Philada.
Married April 24th, 1849, to Elizabeth M. Simpson, of Pittsburg, Penna.
Had issue.
Died June 30th, 1877.

JAMES MURRAY
Born July 10th, 1813, in Washington, D. C.
Died February 7th, 1860.
Married, first, January 28th, 1847, Eugenia Frances Sheaff, nee Hiester.
Had issue, a son.
Second, Elizabeth Upshur Dennis, nee
Dennis, on November 29, 1853.
Had issue, a daughter.

Richard
Born March 11th, 1815, in Washington, D. C.
Died at Washington, D. C. Oct. 29th, 1846.

Sarah Maynadier
Born Sept. 17th, 1817, in Annapolis, Maryland.
Died at London, April 19th, 1819.

Julia
Born Nov. 11th, 1818, in London, England.
Died at London, June 30th, 1822.

Anna Maria
Born April 23d, 1820, in London, England.
Died at Philadelphia, Dec. 25th, 1887, unmarried.

Madison
Born July 28th, 1821, in London, England.
Married Feb'y. 20th, 1855, Maria Blight
Died July 20th, 1856.
Without issue.

Sarah Catharine
Born June 29th, 1823, in London, England.
Died at Philadelphia, July 17th, 1905, unmarried.

Richard Henry
Born Jan'y 14th, 1825, in London, England.
Married, first, on Feb. 4th, 1851, Sarah Anna Blight; second, December 11th, 1856, Susan Bowdoin Yerby.
Had issue.
Died October 17th, 1893.

Julia Stockton
Born July 21st, 1826, in Washington, D. C.
Married June 1st, 1854, John Calvert, of Washington, D. C., son of Edward Calvert, Esq., of Mt. Airy, Prince George's County, Md.
Died at Washington, D. C., January 20th, 1888.

had issue

RICHARD RUSH
Born February 28th, 1848.
Married July 10th, 1873, Ella Mary Day.
Has issue.

Elisabeth Murray Rush
Born, January 26, 1856.
Married John Biddle Porter, April 20, 1882.
Has issue.

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